Ammon Hennacy and the Hopi Traditionalist Movement: Roots of the Counterculture's Favorite Indians

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Introduction

About 2,400 feet above the desert floor in the Santa Catalina Mountains northeast of Tucson, Arizona, standing among oaks, piñons, and junipers charred by a devastating 2003 forest fire, are a few remnants of an old federal prison facility. The location is now named the Gordon Hirabayashi Recreation Site in honor of the brave Japanese American who contested and eventually overturned his convictions for resisting Japanese curfew and relocation during the anti-Japanese hysteria that ensued after the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. The former Tucson Federal Prison Camp had been created in 1939 as a low-security prison where inmates served their sentences in hard labor building the Catalina Highway that snakes its way through the rugged Santa Catalina Mountains of the Coronado National Forest. As war began, the prison housed conscientious objectors, draft resisters, Japanese American relocation resisters, unauthorized Mexican immigrants, and others. Among those imprisoned in the camp between 1941 and 1949 were a small number of Hopi Indians from northern Arizona who had been convicted of draft evasion when their religious objections to military service were rejected by the courts.[1] The Hopi internees included two formally educated men, Chester Mote and Thomas Banyacya (then known as Thomas Jenkins), who would later become friends with Ammon Hennacy, a veteran conscientious objector of both world wars and a passionate advocate for pacifism and what he called "Christian anarchism."[2] Mote would sustain a correspondence with Hennacy for two years before

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they met, as he—and subsequently Banyacya—gave an eager Hennacy access into Hopi politics for a half-dozen years as a partisan provocateur. From this privileged vantage point, Hennacy created a new politicized image of Hopi culture for the consumption of an emerging American counterculture.

This article explores Ammon Hennacy's participation in Hopi politics and his role in popularizing a vision of Hopi culture among American radicals after World War II. Hennacy's involvements at Hopi have largely escaped scholars' attention, which is surprising, given that Hennacy has been recognized as one of "the spiritual progenitors of Sixties activism," and many of his writings on Hopis have been accessible since the Fifties.[3] The key to grasping Hennacy's importance begins with recognizing that his arrival at Hopi in 1947 coincided with the emergence of a political faction that has come to be known in ethnographic writings as the Hopi Traditionalist Movement.[4] Hennacy wrote about and on behalf of this faction without ever grasping what it really was, yet he himself was key to the movement's success in gaining recognition off the reservation as "traditional Hopis." Historian James Treat has illustrated the influence these "traditional" Hopis had on Native American activism in the Fifties, Sixties, and Seventies. However, this insight needs to be squared with the ethnographic evidence that the Traditionalist Movement was one approach to tradition among many at Hopi, where traditional belief and practice did not consistently distinguish the movement's followers from their political foes. New historical evidence developed here demonstrates that Hennacy's flair for the dramatic and far-ranging connections to well-organized networks of media-savvy radicals and conscientious objectors—or COs as the latter were known—were crucial in forging important relationships between Hopis and non-Indians far from the reservation. That Hennacy did these things from the start of the Traditionalist Movement also revises our understanding of what this movement was. Just as Sherry L. Smith has recently exposed the commingling of the interests and actions of the Sixties hippies and Native American activists, the early history of the Hopi Traditionalist Movement can no longer be seen as a narrowly indigenous social phenomenon. It was multiethnic and multifaceted from the start, even as its participants conceived of it as Hopi.[5]

With new evidence on Hennacy, the rich body of ethnography on the Hopi Traditionalists will need some revision. The ethnographers who produced this work largely focused on Hopi actors, thereby missing Hennacy's involvement. Richard Clemmer worked closely with the Traditionalists in the late Sixties and early Seventies, portraying them as

a resistance movement, rather than as the amorphous faction or pole in the Hopi political spectrum that other scholars and Hopis themselves have reported. Their resistance, according to Clemmer, was to acculturative, political, and economic pressures, and represented an effort to construct an alternative Hopi modernity. As this implies, Clemmer turned his gaze away from non-Indians in the movement, including details of his own role. Nevertheless, he did recognize that the Traditionalists had extended a "Hopi 'factional field' to include the rest of the world."[6] Devoting little of his attention to Hennacy, Clemmer portrays Thomas Banyacya (b. 1910 – d. 1999) as the movement's "most important linchpin," characterizing him as an experienced cultural broker and political organizer who brought valuable outside partisan contacts to the movement from the moment he emerged from prison in Tucson.[7] Banyacya, who was appointed interpreter in 1948 by the movement's founders, was unquestionably a central figure by the 1950s. But examination of Hennacy's involvement with the Traditionalists reveals that the movement's early outside contacts were Hennacy's, not Banyacya's. In the end, it appears that Banyacya hid Hennacy's involvement from Clemmer, and possible reasons for this emerge in this study.[8]

Non-Hopis have widely perceived Hopi factions of the mid- to late-twentieth century as "progressives" and "traditionals." Ethnographers, in contrast, have reported that these labels are misleading.[9] Banyacya told Clemmer that he had chosen the name *traditional* for the Hopi Traditionalist Movement to indicate its character and roots.[10] This may be correct, yet Hennacy was contrasting the Hopi draft resisters' "ancient truths" with those of "modern society" in 1945, and even discussing Hopi "traditions" in 1947 before meeting Banyacya.[11] It is likely that this labeling of the movement emerged organically between Hennacy, Banyacya, and others. The wording is a convention of American romantic primitivism, in which cultural groups cast as the antithesis of "civilized" Europe and its offshoots are valorized as a way to criticize "Western civilization."[12] The Traditionalists served precisely this purpose for Hennacy. Since romantic primitivism is fundamental to Western esoteric or metaphysical spirituality, an examination of Hennacy and the Hopi Traditionalists helps to reveal how and why a contemporary New Age became so fascinated with the Hopi.

Clemmer was not alone in overlooking Hennacy's involvement with the Hopi Traditionalist Movement. Anthropologist Shuichi Nagata, who examined the movement in the early 1960s, was unaware of any non-Hopi involvement preceding a "Mohawk Indian" (Craig Carpenter) and

a retired Army general (Herbert C. Holdridge) in the late Fifties.[13] Hennacy preceded both by a decade and his departure from the scene is what made their involvement necessary. Another observer who missed Hennacy's involvement is religion scholar Armin Geertz. Geertz goes further than anyone in illuminating the Traditionalist's interdependency with non-Indians in wide-ranging networks that produced an inevitable "mutual misrepresentation" by all parties.[14] But Geertz focuses on the Sixties hippies and their metaphysical New Age heirs.[15] The non-Hopis Nagata and Geertz address already had their understandings of Hopi culture shaped by Hennacy's biased lens. Frank Waters's collaboration with Oswald White Bear Fredericks, which yielded *Book of the Hopi* (1963), may have had a wider impact on the Sixties hippies and their successors. But it was Hennacy who first broke this ground. It was his departure from Arizona that created the publicity vacuum that the Traditionalists tried to fill by initiating the book project and by turning to Carpenter and Holdridge.[16] So Hennacy affords a solid starting point from which to trace pathways of cultural transmission and culture making that gave rise to the hippies' love of the Hopi Traditionalists.

Hennacy's role in the emerging Hopi Traditionalist Movement from 1945 to 1953 contributed to the form and meaning of the movement and its derivatives outside of Hopi. Hennacy's importance was threefold. He provided a ready audience and support network for the Traditionalists outside the Hopi mesas, and he helped the Traditionalists to hone and disseminate a message that resonated with that audience. This success increased the Traditionalists' vitality within Hopi towns briefly. But because the Traditionalist Movement ultimately failed to recruit and retain a strong Hopi following, Hennacy's most important impact was that he helped the Traditionalists to obtain and expand a network of support outside the Hopi reservation, support that acquired a life of its own, outlasted the movement in Hopiland, and has had an enduring effect on metaphysical religions. Hennacy and the Traditionalists were key culture makers, yet it wasn't so much for the Hopis that this culture was being made. Hennacy helped to generate a set of meanings many non-Indians today so adamantly associate with the Hopi that they react angrily or dismissively toward scholars and Hopis who attempt to correct their misunderstandings.[17] Hennacy championed the Hopi Traditionalists as his model of a pacifist–anarchist society. To Hennacy, participants in the Traditionalist Movement were "the real Hopi," "the true Hopi," and "the traditional Hopi," and their Hopi opponents were "government stooges" and "rice-Christians." Thus, Hennacy helped to establish a

discourse in which "traditional" Hopis were forever peacefully defending themselves and their beliefs against an aggressive, modernizing federal government and its toadying Hopi apologists. This rhetorical dichotomy would become a widespread and pernicious misrepresentation of Hopi culture and society that still resonates today in American and European popular culture.

The Christian Anarchist

Ammon A. Hennacy was born to a middle class Quaker-turned-Baptist family in Negley, Ohio, on July 24, 1893.[18] Even though he adopted atheism as a young man, his readings in esoteric or metaphysical spiritual traditions led him to embrace a belief in reincarnation. In college, he studied journalism, sociology, and philosophy. He joined the International Workers of the World and the Socialists, became a vegetarian, refused to register for the draft in 1917 based on opposition to a "capitalist war," and served two years in federal prison and eight months in state prison for conspiracy to evade the draft.[19] In prison he read Leo Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* and, when placed in solitary confinement for organizing a protest against the quality of prison food, the Bible. Hennacy emerged from prison as a self-described "Christian anarchist," opposed to war based on Tolstoy's belief that Christ's Sermon on the Mount is a call to pacifism. Thoreau and Gandhi also became major figures in Hennacy's pacifist pantheon. On Christmas Eve, 1919, he and Selma Melms joined in common-law marriage and traveled the country before settling in the Midwest, where they tried farming and started a family.[20] By the early 1930s the farm had failed and Hennacy became a relief worker in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He also took up writing articles and book reviews for radical publications around the country. In 1937 he joined Peter Maurin and Dorothy Day's Catholic Worker Movement for social justice, and began distributing its newspaper, *The Catholic Worker*. In 1938, Hennacy and his wife separated after she joined the I AM Religious Activity in Los Angeles, a spinoff of theosophy that conflicted with Hennacy's anarchism.[21] As World War II approached, Hennacy became active in opposing war and resisting the draft. This attracted the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), which monitored Hennacy's activities for the rest of his life.[22]

When World War II began, Hennacy quit his salaried job to work as

a Fuller Brush salesman so he could avoid paying federal income taxes so as to oppose the war effort. In 1941, Hennacy began contributing occasional essays to *The Catholic Worker*, which would be his main publishing outlet for the next 20 years. The newspaper mixed Catholicism with support for labor, the poor and indigent, civil rights, the small farm, vegetarianism, and related causes or concerns. Pacifist anarchism's emphasis on personal responsibility and help to others lay at the heart of the Catholic Worker Movement. Hennacy's own "one man revolution" style of pacifism and anarchism fit right in, although his religious views were never an easy fit.[23] In July 1942, Hennacy relocated to Denver, Colorado, to be nearer to his two daughters who had just moved there with their mother. There he began a decade of work for daily pay as a farm laborer, taking advantage of the immunity from tax withholding that farmwork enjoyed at the time. In December 1942, shortly after his wife and daughters moved to Santa Fe, New Mexico, with the I AM Activity leadership, Hennacy moved to Albuquerque and continued work as a farm laborer. Hennacy learned of the Hopi draft resisters' incarceration from an article in the March 30, 1945, issue of the conscientious objector weekly, *Pacifica Views*.[24] That August, he initiated a correspondence with Chester Mote (b. 1907 – d. 1972), one of the draft resisters who presumably was out of prison by this time. Hennacy followed this in September by writing to Mote's elder relative Don Talayesva, whose autobiography he had just read.[25] Finally, in July 1947 he decided to move closer to the Hopi. He met Mote in Winslow, Arizona, and they spent a day visiting. Finding no farm employment nearby, Hennacy settled near Phoenix. He spent the next six years vigorously supporting the emergent Hopi Traditionalist Movement from Phoenix.[26]

After the war, Hennacy regularly made news for his protests against taxation as a support for militarism, and his annual penance and protest fasts on the anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing. After moving to New York City in 1953 to join Dorothy Day as assistant editor of *The Catholic Worker*, Hennacy is credited with initiating the mass protests begun in 1955 against New York City's mandatory air-raid drills that succeeded in ending the drills by 1962. He also helped organize protests against nuclear weapons at the Atomic Energy Commission's offices in New York and Washington, DC. Hennacy retired from *The Catholic Worker* and moved to Salt Lake City in 1961, where he established and operated the Joe Hill Hospitality House for migrant workers and transients. He was soon joined by Joan Thomas, who became his second wife. He spent his final years writing and protesting against war, nuclear

weapons, and capital punishment.[27] Hennacy was an early protester against the Vietnam War, an activity that earned him a following among student protesters, including the earliest hippies in California and elsewhere. After the second edition of his autobiography was published in 1964, a reviewer for the *San Francisco Chronicle* praised Hennacy as "The last of the great old-time non-conformists...."[28] An April 1967 *Los Angeles Free Press* front page story for an upcoming anti-war lecture declared Hennacy "A patriarch of the peace fight."[29] Ammon Hennacy died at the age of 76 on January 14, 1970, in Salt Lake City following a heart attack. An FBI informant reported that 37 people attended his memorial service the following week, including "five 'hippies.' "[30]

Hopi Politics by 1940

To grasp what Hennacy was getting himself into when he began his correspondence with Chester Mote, we need to first examine why only a small group of Hopi men refused to register for the draft in 1940. Most of the Hopis who were tried, convicted, and incarcerated for draft evasion were from the village of Hotvela, where two village leaders asserted that Hopi prophecy foretold of the need for Hopis to stay out of this war. Most draft-age Hopi men did not find this compelling.[31] To grasp why Hotvela's response was unique, we must look at Hotvela's origins and Hopi prophecy.

The Hopi Tribe of northeastern Arizona today occupies twelve villages clustered at three mesas at the southern end of Black Mesa and at Moenkopi Wash near Tuba City. The creation of three villages at Third Mesa—Hotvela, Paaqavi, and Kykotsmovi—and the growth and fission of Moenkopi can be traced to a factional dispute that split the large Third Mesa village of Orayvi in 1906. As federal pressure to enforce boarding school attendance and the allotment of land to individual families began to be felt in the late 1880s, Orayvi became a center for resistance to federal authority. Two factions were evident at Orayvi by 1882, outwardly based on differing attitudes toward the Americans. The "Friendly" faction centered on the *kikmongwi* (village chief), Loololma, who agreed to government schools for Hopi children in exchange for protection against Navajo encroachment on Hopi lands. The "Hostile" faction, which included the *qaletaqmongwi* or war chief, claimed that Loololma was sacrificing the autonomy of the village to the U.S. government, and with

it the way of life that the deity Maasaw had instructed Hopis to follow. Loololma appears to have felt that he would be the last *kikmongwi* at Orayvi, in accordance with a prophecy that the ritual system would come to an end and should not be taken elsewhere.[32] By 1906, Tawakwaptiwa had succeeded Loololma, and Orayvi was suffering from drought and crop failures, land encroachment by Navajos, and seasonal waves of tourists. Accusations of witchcraft had become rampant, and the ritual societies had become aligned with the factions. The factions began holding competing versions of the same ritual, each side claiming exclusive legitimacy. That March, the Hostile faction invited Hostiles from the Second Mesa village of Shongopavi to settle in Orayvi to drive out the Friendlies and cultivate their lands. This precipitated the final showdown on September 7, which the Hostile faction lost. They were forced out and established the village of Hotvela. Paaqavi was formed in November 1909 when Tawakwaptiwa drove out a group of Hostiles who had returned in an attempt at rapprochement. Tawakwaptiwa later drove Christian families out of Orayvi, and they established Kykotsmovi in 1920. Moenkopi absorbed Friendlies and Hostiles during these years, turning it into two permanent villages.

Scholars have suggested various causes for the Orayvi split: that it was due to an inherent weakness in the social organization, population pressure on a declining land base, or assimilative pressures brought by the Americans.[33] Hopis since soon after the split have suggested some of these were factors, but favor an interpretation that the split was the result of a deliberate conspiracy by Orayvi's *pavansinom*, or ruling class. The goal of their plotting was to destroy Orayvi's *wiimi*, or politico-religious order, which had become corrupted and thus was considered responsible for the village's problems. In this interpretation, Orayvi's *pavansinom* believed that all of this was foretold in a prophecy of such power that they must carry it out. Their plot involved tricking the village's *sukavungsinom*, or common people, into conflict over opposed positions toward the Americans. The Hostile faction should have proceeded to Kawestima, a northern ancestral village where they would have been able to restore the ritual system, but they instead settled at Hotvela, and later, Paaqavi.[34]

Prior to the Orayvi split, political power was synonymous with religious and ritual knowledge. The details of stories and rituals, and the entirety of certain rites, are held in secret by priests and officers drawn from *pavansinom* core lineages of the highest-ranking clans. Being *pavansinom* required complex initiation into priesthoods and offices of ritual societies that exposed one to dangerous ritual knowledge. This esoteric knowledge

was the basis of *pavansinom* political power, and was the *wiimi* which the Orayvi split allegedly was intended to destroy. Accordingly, the factions were expected to bring the higher-order rituals to an end after the split, and all of the Third Mesa villages henceforth would be *sukavungsinom*.[35] The dismantling of *wiimi* took place gradually in Orayvi and Paaqavi, such that most of the higher-order ceremonials ended by the Forties as elderly priests chose not to pass on their knowledge and destroyed their ritual paraphernalia. In contrast, the more heavily *sukavungsinom* village of Hotvela chose to re-create the ritual order by resurrecting *Wuwtsim* (manhood) initiations. Lacking the proper knowledge, they had to solicit *pavansinom* expertise from Paaqavi, where more of the Hostile *pavansinom* had settled. Hotvela alone at Third Mesa held *Wuwtsim* initiations as late as 1939. Other Third Mesa villages derided this as contrary to prophecy and the proper decisions of the Orayvi *pavansinom* who planned the 1906 split. They viewed Hotvela's rituals as incomplete and inauthentic. Starting in the 1940s, Hotvela's *wiimi* also began to decline. Despite acquiring a reputation among non-Hopis after World War II as a traditional village, Hotvela actually sustained a less complete ritual system than the Second Mesa villages.[36] Hotvela's unique position in the 1940s was also shaped by its opposition to the Hopi Tribal Council, founded in 1936 and revived in 1948–1951. Since its reconstitution, the Council has grown in importance, and usually has seated representatives from all but three or four villages, which include Hotvela, Lower Moenkopi, and Shongopavi.[37] Hotvela began to factionalize internally along the same lines during this period.

The White Brother and Purification Day

An interesting irony about communities that entrust specialists with the preservation and interpretation of secret prophetic traditional knowledge is that the very secrecy and danger surrounding such knowledge enable those charged with its preservation to be significant sources of innovation and change. The keepers of prophecy unavoidably create new cultural directions and meanings whenever they associate new circumstances with old stories. This form of traditional knowledge is, ironically, a vehicle for creative change. As Armin Geertz has shown, this process characterizes the role of prophecy in the Hopi Traditionalist Movement.[38]

Hopi prophecy derives from the emergence myth, which describes a series of four sequential ages or worlds, each beginning as a paradise but

deteriorating gradually due to human evil. Each world is destroyed catastrophically, but the faithful survive by climbing a reed through the sky into the next world where they begin life again. The current, or fourth, world has already become corrupted and its apocalyptic end is assured. The emergence myth consists of sets of stories. The fourth story set describes a meeting with the fourth world's ruling deity, Maasaw, and/or the stories of two brothers: the elder, Pahanna or White Brother, and the younger Hopi Brother.[39] Details within the stories vary considerably between versions, especially when a particular social group is represented and prestige or authority is at stake. Stories concerning the meeting with Maasaw and the two brothers are most variable, and these are where most prophecy resides. A consistent feature is that Maasaw permits humanity's presence in the fourth world on condition that humans live frugally and religiously. Maasaw promises to return someday to punish humanity for its failure to live properly. Hopis debate what signs will presage Maasaw's return, but a common element is that the two brothers are each given marked stone tablets, or fragments of the same tablet.[40] White Brother departs to the east but will return to herald the end of the world, and his tablet or fragment will identify him. Maasaw then will return and purify, creating a new paradise. Whatever else occurs are subjects of great disagreement. According to Geertz, the "darkly apocryphal tones" in the prophecies of the Hopi Traditionalist Movement originated among Hostile leaders a century ago during the buildup to the Orayvi split.[41] Since the stories vary between and within villages, prophetic tradition can be both unifying and divisive. By rooting their ideology in prophecy, the Traditionalist Movement leadership sharply limited its ability to mobilize broad support among Hopis.[42]

For many if not most Hopis, the issue of White Brother's return was closed when the Americans arrived. But among former Hostiles who opposed the Tribal Council, the matter remained very open. Dan Katchongva (b. 1881 – d. 1972) at Hotvela was one of those who still sought the true White Brother. As *pavansinom*, his interpretations were influential, especially in Hotvela.[43] He would become the main prophet of the Traditionalist Movement, but the circumstances of his accession to leadership meant that his authority in Hotvela was always vulnerable to questions of legitimacy. When the founding Hotvela *kikmongwi* Yukiwma died in 1929, his legitimate heir among the matrilineal Hopi was his Kookop clan nephew, James Pongyayawma. Pongyayawma was too young at the time to assume the duties of *kikmongwi*, and was not

officially installed until 1943. In the interim, Dan Katchongva, who was Sun clan, One Horn Society, and Yukiwma's son, served as a regent and co-ruler. Some Hopis have suggested that Yukiwma felt that Katchongva coveted but was unsuited for leadership.[44] Nevertheless, Katchongva could claim to have the knowledge needed to serve as regent and co-ruler. Around 1950 he usurped Pongyayawma's position, becoming the de facto *kikmongwi*.[45] By the early Sixties, Nagata reports that Katchongva was described by Hotvela people as "a 'religious leader', 'advisor', and 'chief' (*Mongwi*) but never as a village chief (*kikwimongwi*)."[46]

Katchongva introduced new elements into the prophecy of Pahaana's return that extended its significance beyond the Hopi people. The presence of Mormon missionaries in Hopi country since the late 1850s had raised the possibility that the Pahaana was a Mormon. With this in mind, Katchongva ventured to Salt Lake City in 1935 with his spokesman, Ralph Tawangyawma, and interpreter, Harry Nasewytewa, to share their millennial prophecies in a magazine article. Katchongva stated that the innovation of airplane travel confirmed a prophecy of "a road in the sky," which would signal that the return of White Brother was near at hand. He hoped that the article would encourage the White Brother to come forward to precipitate purification day. After reciting an abbreviated version of the emergence myth, Katchongva began to proselytize beyond the boundaries of Hopi identity and community with his prophecy of the coming purification day:

> When the winters would be very cold and the summers very dry, when earthquakes and other signs of nature came; when men would be uneasy and restless in their minds; when a road would be made in the sky, then all men would know that they must live better for the time was then come, when the White Brother would return and all things would be made right. If men did not heed these warnings and live better and more humbly, they would be destroyed when He comes. The destruction of the wicked would be the way in which the world would be cured of evil doings.…
>
> [The Hopi] were further told that after the time of the destruction, the faithful people would be rewarded for their faithfulness, that there would be a place provided for the poor people for their inheritance for the reward of their sufferings, that the righteous white people and the Indians would be as brothers; they would be taken to a place in this land of ours where a lot of riches are to be found. During the peaceable time these people who have been

> faithful will unite and share these treasures in equal parts and live as the white people do. This shall be a time of plenty when there will be nothing but happiness for everybody….
>
> If this that I have told you is to be sent out to different places and even to the foreign countries, perhaps our White Brother will read it, for He is a person today who will come to us and will be able to translate the marble record we have with our people, which was given to us by the Mausauu. He will bring forth the destruction of the wicked and a great day of peace and happiness will follow for the good people. Then Mausauu will return to be our leader.[47]

Katchongva's prophecy introduces a new missionizing message: righteous whites and the poor of all backgrounds would survive purification day with the Hopis, and live together in peace, plenty, and happiness. Prior to this, Hopi prophecy was just about Hopis. After White Brother did not appear in the next five years, Katchongva became disenchanted with the idea of a Mormon White Brother. By the summer of 1940, he was claiming that Adolf Hitler was the White Brother, citing the similarity between the Hopi and Nazi swastikas and other markers as evidence. This would have serious consequences for young men of Hotvela when mandatory registration for the draft began throughout the United States in October 1940.[48] By October 16, fourteen men from Hotvela refused to register because they felt that their religious traditions forbade them from going to war, particularly a war between whites. Expecting that the men simply failed to grasp the consequences of resistance, the draft board in Holbrook gave the fourteen resisters an extension until U.S. Indian Bureau commissioner John Collier could explain the law to them. Collier reportedly told them to comply with the law. The draft board chairman, Wilson Bourdon, also brought pressure by drawing attention to the influence of Pongyayawma and Katchongva on the men's decision not to register, and when resistance continued the next day, Bourdon claimed that "one Hopi was a member of the German-American *Bund* and had been spreading word on the reservation that the Indians should not recognize the federal government and that Adolf Hitler soon would come and 'free' them from the United States."[49] A partial resolution to the standoff appeared after reservation superintendent Seth Wilson spent four days at Hotvela convincing more than half the men to register.

Seven months later, the six remaining men were on trial for draft

evasion in Phoenix. Katchongva and Pongyayawma appeared to share with the press their version of the prophecy that had inspired the young men. Interpreting for Katchongva were Thomas Banyacya, Oswald White Bear Fredericks (b. 1905 – d. 1996), and Chester Mote. The two Hotvela leaders displayed a carved stone tablet kept by Pongyayawma, which they said conveyed the following prophecy:

> We have a stone tablet on which is carved a legend. That tablet has been handed down from generation to generation. It says that there will come a time when there will be great trouble involving many nations. The Hopi are to show their bows and arrows to no one at that time.… The legend says that someday a white brother will come who will be able to read the things on the stone. When he comes we will know him and he will enable the Hopi and all other people of the world to share equally in the wealth that is given to us who are living.… This white brother will be the only person who will be able to tell the entire and true meaning of the stone.[50]

Through advice or intimidation from federal officials, Pongyayawma and Katchongva realized that they risked their own freedom if they explicitly advised young men not to register. After mid-October 1940, they urged men to follow their own consciences on the draft question.[51] The six remaining resisters gave themselves strength as they awaited trial in their jail cell by reviewing the prophecy of two brothers. Their cause was hurt by denials from other Hopi religious leaders that Hopi religious traditions forbade defensive war. It was also apparent that some Hotvela residents wanted the men to sign their draft documents. Failing to grasp that Hopi prophecy could differ between sources, federal officials perceived the men's resistance as hostility to the United States rather than religious dedication, even though one of the men had just been initiated into a priesthood. At their trial the men felt that Hopi beliefs were not considered a religion by the court. As they awaited their fate, one of them recalled saying, "We are doing this for the Hopi people, we are not doing this for our selves [sic]."[52] Five of them were convicted in May 1941 and sentenced to labor at Tucson Federal Prison Camp while one signed his draft papers. Once installed in the mountain prison camp, the men met Quaker draft resisters and Japanese Americans who had defied wartime internment.[53]

When the first group of Hopis convicted for draft evasion was released in April 1942, the Department of Justice prosecuted them again for refusing to answer questionnaires and for influencing other Hopis to

resist the draft. Pressure also increased on Katchongva and Pongyayawma for continuing to counsel young men about the draft. Even so, the Hotvela co-rulers again traveled to Phoenix to make their case. This time, Katchongva explained how the creation of a new world was foretold in the inscriptions: "In this new world…all people who shall live will be under one name, sharing equally the wealth that shall be given to them at that time. All these things have been prophesied long before any white man set foot upon this country."[54] Once again, the press observed that only Hotvela residents embraced this prophecy.[55]

Press coverage of the Hopi draft resisters began in October 1940. It spread during the trial through newspapers across the nation in May through August of 1941 and again during the next trial in April through August 1942, with stories focusing on the defendants' belief that "ancient teachings" forbade their going to war.[56] Ammon Hennacy probably missed all of this coverage, as I have found no references to the Hopi among his papers prior to the summer of 1945. When he reached out via letter to Chester Mote that August, Mote had been convicted and imprisoned two or three times since 1940, spending time in the Keams Canyon jail and Tucson Federal Prison Camp. Mote was clearly Hennacy's first Hopi contact. Thomas Banyacya does not appear in Hennacy's papers or publications before the fall of 1947, and it looks as if Mote first spoke of Banyacya to Hennacy in summer or fall, before he introduced them that winter.[57]

Hennacy Interprets the Hopis

Once Hennacy had learned of the Hopi draft resisters, he made sense of them by drawing upon an earlier fascination with Indians that drew from common strains in American romantic primitivism. Hennacy's earliest memories were of listening to his grandmother's stories about how the peaceful Quakers got along with the Indians when other Americans did not. Like many youngsters in the Midwest, he collected arrowheads. When he and his first wife traveled throughout the United States, they spent a week at Taos Pueblo in 1925 as guests of the sister of Tony Lujan, just before his marriage to Mabel Dodge Luhan, the noted Southwest romanticist and patron of the arts and anthropology. After moving to Albuquerque in 1942, Hennacy befriended fellow farmworkers at Isleta Pueblo, and when the atomic bomb was tested he wrote verses from an Indian's perspective to express his horror. Some of these were published in the *Catholic Conscientious Objector*.[58] *The Catholic*

Worker of July–August 1945 contained Hennacy's essay on his interactions with farmworkers at Isleta Pueblo, "Ammon Among the Indians." Hennacy wrote, "I told them of the five Hopi Indians who had refused to register and had gone to prison, and of the injustice of Indians being made to fight the white man's wars, after being despoiled of their country and not being allowed citizenship."[59] This is Hennacy's first mention of the Hopi draft resisters.

From August through November, Hennacy buried himself in the literature available on the Hopi at the University of New Mexico library. During these months, he shared his new interest in at least 28 letters that give descriptions of the five Hopi draft evaders, the image of Hopi culture he was forming from his readings, and the pacifist novel he was writing that featured Hopis and other Indians. As early as August 6, he expressed a desire to live among the Hopi. Before August 28 he had written to Chester Mote, and by September 25 to Don Talayesva, whose autobiography, *Sun Chief,* had been among his readings.[60] In a letter to his mother, written September 28, Hennacy explains why Hopis were becoming so important to him, and gives an initial formulation of how he would characterize the Hopi for years to come.

> I have read five books on the Hopi Indians…. Very few are converts to Christianity. Five of them went to jail against the war. In their language there are no swear words…. They do not drink, have no jails, police, courts, and no one has ever committed murder or suicide there in 1000 years. The whites have lied continually and broken treaties made…. I am writing to some of them and will visit them in time. In dealing with one another and outsiders, the worst sin is to have revenge or try to 'get even' with who does them wrong. There is nothing in the Christian religion as practiced by the churches which is any improvement on the Hopi religion, or half as good. Do you expect the people of India, China, Japan, would ever listen again to American missionaries after we have uselessly killed hundreds of thousands of them with the atomic bomb and have not given them any freedom, but enslaved them again to the British? We had done a thousand times worse than Hitler or any one [sic] else, and we did not need to do it for the war was already nearly won. They could have asked Jap officials and others to witness an atomic bomb explosion on some island in the ocean where no one need be killed. Roosevelt and Truman were and are supposedly Christians, but they act like Heathen—and worse.[61]

Hennacy clearly is captivated, and has rushed to find authoritative validation of his initial interpretations of Hopi culture and history. His denial of Hopi murder and suicide is the first indication of how far he would go in romanticizing Hopis by overlooking inconvenient facts in his readings, such as existence of the office of *qaletaqmongwi*, or war chief, or the 1701 slaughter and destruction of Awatovi by the other villages over its residents' acceptance of Catholicism.[62] Caught up in his own idealism, Hennacy envisions the Hopi as a non-violent people living without government bureaucracy whom he proposes as a counterpoint to U.S. and other state militarisms. Lastly, we see his great concern with the atomic bomb and the way he ties that theme to his interest in the Hopi—a year or two before the nascent Hopi Traditionalist Movement would do the same.

His readings on the Hopi led to more writing, and among the first items he produced was a review of Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph's *The Hopi Way* (Chicago, 1944), published in *The Conscientious Objector* in October 1945. Hennacy sent a copy to Thompson immediately, to which she responded warmly and with added insight on the Hopi draft resisters: "The refusal of the men to register was apparently a part of a pattern [at Hotvela] which extends as far as objecting to signing their names on any document whatsoever. In the case of the draft, this behavior fit in with their pacifist attitude toward life."[63] Hennacy also sent a copy of his review to Chester Mote, starting a regular practice of sharing his work with his Hopi friends.[64] In the January–February 1946 issue of the anarcho-pacifist journal *Why?,* Hennacy published his new doctrine in a two-page article titled, "The Hopi Indians." In the article and his notes, we can see Hennacy's efforts to validate his romanticization of the Hopi from scholarly sources.[65] The article begins with an epigraph quoting psychologist Wayne Dennis's *The Hopi Child* (1940) to justify Hennacy's depiction of the Hopi as anarchists[66]:

> There are no courts, no policemen, no fines and no penalties…. The town council is entirely a religious council, which in order to maintain its purity of mind, should not meddle in quarrels. The native system of government is, in effect, a practical form of anarchy.[67]

The epigraph draws the kind of sweeping contrast that is fundamental to primitivist thought. Hennacy undoubtedly felt justified in stating a bit further down the page, "The anarchist principle of the right to secession is fundamental to Hopi life." Expanding on the contrast in the epigraph, Hennacy states, "The characteristic which typifies modern

society is irresponsibility of the individual and the tendency to pass the buck.... From childhood each Hopi youth learns to assume responsibility."[68] Anarchist society must be like the Hopi in this regard, Hennacy adds. He then claims that Hopi anarchism is rooted in values that parallel his own:

> There are six Christian missions among them but very few converts to Christianity. However the Hopi practice ethical principles which are the basis of Jesus' teaching: refusal to kill (murder and suicide are unknown among them) and forgiveness: the chief virtue is to be kind and forgiving and to refuse to try to get even with one who wrongs them.[69]

He identifies the sources of evil in Hopi life: "...5/6 of the original land of the Hopi has been stolen by the Navajo and the whites. They get the run-around from the Indian Bureau, Congressmen, and the Government in general."[70] And he unequivocally states the value of Hopis to the rest of humanity:

> With the noble teaching of the founders of the great religions mocked by the Mammon worship of organized religion, the only hope lies in those few Free Spirits who face militarized bureaucracy with courage; who achieve a frugal livelihood without aid of a paternalistic State; who refuse to worship the gods of bourgeois success; and who practice the highest ethical principles while outside of the Church. To such Free Spirits a study of the history of the Hopi brings hope, for they have already approximated this ideal.[71]

In support of these assertions, Hennacy cites Thompson and Joseph's *The Hopi Way* several times, in one instance to support his claim that the Hopi lack democracy yet reach every decision unanimously. Other instances demonstrate principles of reciprocity and cosmic justice that negate a need for retribution, and illustrate "The wholesomeness of Hopi life."[72] In his twelve pages of single-spaced, typed notes on *The Hopi Way*, Hennacy underlined a quote from the foreword by John Collier: "The Hopi have achieved peace, and not through policing but through the disciplines and affirmations planted within each of their several souls. The achievement has been maintained across millennia and is maintained now."[73] Hennacy did his homework, yet he found only what he wanted to find in scholars' sometimes overly bold generalizations.

In 1945 and 1946 Hennacy drafted a novel that included characters based on his Indian acquaintances and correspondents. Though it was

never published, the manuscript reveals how Hennacy was integrating the Hopi into his core philosophy. The novel's theme is that a group of spiritually minded pacifists from diverse backgrounds tries to save the world from a looming atomic World War III. The protagonists are a narrator based on Hennacy, pacifists from the Doukhobor sect, Indians from Taos, Isleta, Zuni, and Hopi, and the narrator's two daughters who clearly are based on Hennacy's own. One of these, named Ledra, takes a Taos Indian named Ramon Luhan as her lover and later weds him in a Hopi ceremony at Orayvi, arranged by characters based on Chester Mote and Don Talayesva. The Hopi are introduced as "a tribe of Indians which has had the least contact with the white man and therefore is less contaminated by the white man's vices."[74] His character Chester's village of Hotvela is described as "the oldest mesa grouping of the Hopi, except Oriabi…where these Hostiles, as those who do not cooperate with the whites, are called, lived."[75] Following this, Hennacy again asserts that the Hopi have lived a thousand years in peace and without crime. His novel's Chester not only has Mote's name, but also his history, having "served two terms in Tucson road camp for refusing to register."[76]

The novel's heroine, Ledra, fulfills a Taos legend of a white girl who becomes the Sun-Princess. Through the new medium of television, she leads the world to a spiritual reawakening rooted in a mix of Pueblo sun worship, Buddhism, Tolstoyan Christianity, and other pacifist ideologies. After government scientists bring about the atomic apocalypse, Ledra and Ramon inspire countless surviving small communities around the world to adopt a Hopi-based pacifist–anarchist future. Ledra uses a Hopi herbal cure to save the government's atomic scientist from certain death, then questions him:

> I will ask you if you have learned the first lesson which all who follow the ancient Hopi, whose remedy has just now saved your life, must learn? This lesson is that the power which moves the world and the souls of men is not in the earthquake, in the whirlwind—or in the atomic bomb—but in the Still Small Voice Within. It is this conscience which governments have proscribed, which churches have persecuted; it is this conscience which alone is needed to rule mankind.[77]

Hennacy must have realized the novel had serious flaws when a radical journal declined to publish it, for he made no further effort to find a publisher. But its ideas stayed with him. Hennacy later explained what

he had hoped to achieve in the novel: "I sought to debunk all of the political and religious philosophies and to develop a spiritual force in opposition to the coming Great War in 1951–52, from these Indians and the Hopi and the *Catholic Worker*."[78] Moving on, Hennacy soon replaced fictional fantasy with real collaboration with his new Hopi friends. Between 1944 and 1946, most of the Hopi draft resisters returned home from the Tucson prison camp. Hennacy resolved to move closer to the Hopi villages so he could learn more about his new model of pacifist anarchism. When Hennacy finally met Chester Mote in Winslow, Arizona, on July 4, 1947, his arrival in Arizona could not have been more fortuitously timed for himself and the followers of Katchongva and Pongyayawma at Hotvela, for much was happening.[79]

A Movement Emerges

From 1943 until 1948 there was no functioning Hopi Tribal Council, yet interactions with the federal government were accelerating, especially regarding major land issues. In that leadership vacuum, Dan Katchongva at Hotvela and other former Hostile faction loyalists who claimed traditional authority attracted a greater following. Toward the end of this period, a degree of organization and coherence was emerging in opposition to a reformulated Tribal Council. Anthropologist Richard Clemmer dubbed this the Hopi Traditionalist Movement. Whether by coincidence or, less likely, through Ammon Hennacy's influence, the atomic bomb would be a first point of concern for this nascent movement.

Around 1946 or 1947, there began to be talk in Second Mesa kivas equating the atomic bomb with a prophetic story about a gourd of ashes which brought destruction when it was cast on the ground. The association appears to have been made by the chief of the Shongopavi Bluebird clan, Andrew Hermequaftewa (b. 1877 – d. 1961), a former Hostile who had been forced by the federal government to attend Carlisle Indian School after the Orayvi split.[80] These discussions reinterpreted the ash-gourd story in politically powerful ways. In this instance, the ash gourd was transformed from a magical Hopi weapon used to defeat an enemy to one used by the United States to cause general destruction.[81] With the federal government cast in such an evil role, it is not surprising that this new interpretation would stimulate discussion among former Hostiles to unify Second and Third Mesa opposition to a Tribal Council perceived as serving federal interests. Thus, a meeting of elders and

religious leaders from Second and Third Mesas was held at Shongopavi for several days in 1948, during which various teachings were discussed and compared, their implications interpreted, and some steps planned. According to Clemmer,

> …it was determined that younger Hopis were not fulfilling their proper roles in Hopi social and ceremonial activities, and that Hopi culture and social cohesion were suffering as a result…. [I]t was decided at the meeting that the chiefs and religious leaders would make concerted efforts to fulfill their own roles as social and religious pacesetters and revitalize Hopi culture.[82]

Clemmer reports that religious initiations increased after this meeting, ceremonies were perpetuated, and a campaign to counter assimilation was launched that gave shape to a resistance movement. At the meeting, Dan Katchongva proposed that Thomas Banyacya serve as an interpreter–spokesperson for the leaders of the movement, and three others were also appointed.[83] The appointment marked a significant turning point in Banyacya's life. Born in Moenkopi in 1910, Banyacya was raised in a highly acculturated family and attended boarding school at the Sherman Institute in Riverside, California. When he returned to Moenkopi as a young man, he led an effort of other young men educated off-reservation that challenged traditional village leadership. This effort was interrupted in 1930 when he was accepted to Bacone College in Oklahoma. One of a few college-educated Hopis, Banyacya worked for the Soil Conservation Service (SCS) in Leupp after returning from Oklahoma. According to a close relative, Banyacya's failure to achieve a promotion in SCS angered him toward the government. As World War II approached, he fell under the influence of Katchongva, resisted the draft, and was incarcerated at Tucson Federal Prison Camp at least twice from 1942 to 1945. In the mid-1960s, Katchongva sponsored Banyacya's katsina initiation, the minimal level of religious initiation. After this, he dropped his English surname in favor of his initiation surname. Although he never went through the higher-order *Wuwtsim* initiation traditionally required to achieve manhood and hold a politico-religious office, Banyacya still became the Hopi Traditionalist's most visible figure, widely misperceived by outsiders as a traditional religious leader.[84]

A second set of meetings was held in Shongopavi over four days in March 1949 at which leaders of the new Hopi Traditionalist Movement—or Hopi Indian Empire, as they announced themselves—composed a letter to President Truman that has been called their "first public 'position

paper.' "[85] The letter presented the Traditionalists' life plan and prophecy of the coming purification day, and staked out positions on land title, Indian Claims Commission settlement, mineral leases, assimilationist and termination policies, the Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation bill, recommendations of the Hoover Commission, and the creation of NATO. Echoing Katchongva's rhetoric of 1940–1942, they refused to ally themselves with any nation that intended to go to war. The 26 signers were primarily from Shongopavi, Mishongnovi, and Hotvela.[86] The Hopi Traditionalists lacked any printing capacity of their own,[87] so the printing and distribution of the letter were handled by Hennacy and his collaborator, Rik Anderson (see below). They varityped and mailed the letter for the Traditionalists in March 1949. Some prior planning must have involved Hennacy, but it is not clear how or when it occurred. Since he settled in the Phoenix area, Mote and Banyacya visited Hennacy during the winter of 1947–1948. This was probably the first meeting between Hennacy and Banyacya. They discussed Hennacy's tax and atomic bomb protests and their opposition to federal bureaucracy. Hennacy and Mote exchanged multiple letters into early March 1949. Hennacy shared news about his writings, the trial of Joe Craigmyle (see below), his protest plans, and copies of his anti-tax statements. In turn, Mote informed Hennacy of efforts to hold political meetings at Hopi, his work, and hopes for a visit.[88]

The next thing we know is that the Truman letter thrust Hennacy into the role of publisher, publicist, and perhaps even editor for the new movement.[89] With Hennacy in this vital role, the Traditionalists acquired their first significant non-Hopi audience, which was one and the same as Hennacy's. This meant that from the very beginning, success for the Traditionalists hinged upon presenting their arguments in ways that would appeal to the conscientious objectors (COs), Catholic Workers, metaphysical spiritualists, and other radicals whom Hennacy could reach. For the time being, the Hopi Traditionalists' audience did not include other Indians. This was illustrated in April 1949 when Katchongva and Banyacya read the letter to Truman at a regional conference in Phoenix organized by the National Congress of American Indians. The delegates from 19 regional tribes were said to be "surprised," but their support for the Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation bill and other federal services seems not to have been swayed at all.[90] The import of this is very clear: from the outset, the Traditionalist Movement relied upon non-Indian collaborators to give it an audience and to reach that audience. The audience they got was multiethnic and radical.

The COs

Ammon Hennacy was closely connected to the network of radical pacifists that formed within the conscientious objector Civilian Public Service camp and federal prison population during World War II. He had counseled COs in Wisconsin prior to U.S. entry into the war, and his papers and autobiography give numerous examples of letters to and from interned and incarcerated COs. Indeed, a newsletter from this network alerted Hennacy to the existence of the Hopi draft resisters. To interned COs, Hennacy was a bit of a hero. In fact, David Dellinger—one of the earliest and most outspoken radical pacifists and later a well-known Vietnam War opponent and Chicago Seven defendant—first published Hennacy's autobiography in 1954. The World War II COs, their sympathizers, and the Catholic Worker Movement formed the heart of the national network of radicals that Hennacy provided to the Hopi Traditionalists. It is his coupling of these strands that is his seminal accomplishment on behalf of the Traditionalist Movement.

Recent scholarship has revealed the social significance of the World War II COs and imprisoned war resisters. The Hopi, Quaker, and Japanese American men in Tucson Federal Prison Camp during World War II were but a few of the nearly 6,000 men imprisoned by the federal government in the war years for refusing to register for selective service or refusing to serve when called up. In addition to those, 11,996 officially designated COs were placed into 151 special camps where they were to perform service of "national importance." Contrary to official intentions, the camps and prisons served as environments in which those with a radical political agenda organized themselves, expanded their numbers, established networks, and experimented with non-violent direct action protest techniques. Though they never comprised a majority of the camp or prison COs, the radical pacifists still produced a sense of social movement, according to historian James Tracy. The resulting radicalization and organization endured for decades after World War II, as the COs played significant roles in civil rights, anti-colonial, student, anti-war, environmental, and feminist movements, and in the creation of institutions such as the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Pacifica Foundation and public radio network, and numerous activist organizations. [91]

In 1940 with war looming, the United States enacted its first peacetime draft. As this legislation was taking shape, the three Historic Peace Churches for whom non-violence was a scriptural requirement—the Church of the Brethren, the Mennonites, and the Society of Friends

(Quakers)—joined forces and obtained a regular program for COs in the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. During World War I, COs had been imprisoned or forced into military camps where they could be subjected to physical punishment for non-cooperation. Draftees in World War II who obtained CO status chose between taking a non-combatant role in the military—typically a medical corpsman—and being placed into Civilian Public Service (CPS) to perform "work of national importance," according to the wording of the act. CPS fell under the direction of the Selective Service Administration and its director, General Lewis B. Hershey. Depression-era Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps in remote locations were provided for the program, which dictated that most work would be parks, forestry, agriculture, and soil conservation projects. The financing, administration, and daily operation of the camps were provided by the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, comprised of the Historic Peace Churches and other organizations. From the churches' perspective, the camps would permit COs to perform peaceful public service. However, the Selective Service Administration had more restrictive and punitive goals in mind. It imposed a military-like control, denying rights and regulating which camps COs were assigned to. The remote locations kept the COs out of public view where they could not disrupt the war effort. COs received no pay for their work, just $2.50 per month in spending money, and had to pay $35 per month for room and board. Many COs felt that the churches had acquiesced to becoming the government's jailers. Many of the men were held throughout 1946 and as late as 1948, well after the war's end. As problems emerged, some COs stopped cooperating; organized protests, work slowdowns, and stoppages; and even walked out of their camps. Roughly 200 men who did so ended up in federal prisons. Others who came to be seen as recalcitrant were shipped off to special government-run camps for troublemakers.[92] The COs who shared this wartime experience comprised a major part of the audience that Hennacy gave to the Hopi Traditionalists.

Hennacy's Helpers

Ammon Hennacy's reputation for anti-war and anti-nuclear writing and activism often caused like-minded people to seek him out. In Phoenix in late 1948, several people found him who would become eager assistants in his unfolding partnership with the Hopi Traditionalists. One of these

was Joe Craigmyle (b. 1923 – d. 1982), who had been exempted from the draft during World War II due to heart trouble, then refused to comply with draft registration in 1948. Like Hennacy, he was a vegetarian and follower of Gandhi. Craigmyle had written several times to President Truman to declare his refusal to register. Perhaps emulating Hennacy, Craigmyle moved from one farm labor job to another to avoid the law and taxes. Shortly after he tracked down Hennacy, Craigmyle surrendered to authorities and was jailed pending trial for draft evasion. Hennacy picketed Craigmyle's trial in December 1948 and sent letters to the local newspaper criticizing their coverage of the case. He also wrote to Chester Mote about his protests at Craigmyle's trial. The FBI photographed Hennacy picketing outside the courthouse, and again weighed charging him with sedition. Craigmyle was convicted and sentenced to a year in prison after refusing an offer of probation. In April 1949, Craigmyle walked out of a low-security prison in El Paso, Texas, because he objected to being forced to work at a prison dairy that provided milk to a military base. He was captured and returned to prison the next day.[93]

In December 1948, former CO Henrik "Rik" Anderson (b. 1918 – d. 1990) encountered Hennacy selling copies of *The Catholic Worker* at a bus stop and immediately knew who it was. Hennacy described Anderson as "my right hand in getting out leaflets" during his Phoenix years.[94] Anderson was a printer by trade, and owned a varitype machine that enabled him to produce professional-quality copies of Hennacy's and the Hopi Traditionalists' manifestos. The first such missive Anderson varityped was Hennacy's letter to the federal tax collector in December 1948, declaring Christian anarchism as the basis for his refusal to pay taxes.[95] The Traditionalists' March 1949 letter to President Truman was probably the second. Anderson was a Socialist Party worker in Arizona when drafted for service during World War II. Declaring himself a CO, he was placed in CPS Camp 35 at Northfork, California, from November 1943 to February 1945, when he was released due to a nervous disorder. Anderson's wife, Virginia, had been active in Washington, DC, supporting COs during the war, and later became a social work instructor at Arizona State College. She, too, became a part of Hennacy's team.[96]

In August 1949, Rik Anderson accompanied Hennacy to the Mishongnovi snake dance at the invitation of Mote and Banyacya. They had arranged to meet two Quaker COs from San Francisco there, but did not see them. Mote took Hennacy to Orayvi and introduced him to his relative, Don Talayesva, to whom Hennacy had written in 1945.[97] While they were there, Katchongva arrived from Hotvela to speak with

Hennacy. He spent most of the visit sharing his version of the Orayvi-split story and purification day prophecy. Following the dance, Hennacy, Anderson, and local Quaker missionaries were invited to a meeting of the Traditionalists. Hennacy was asked to speak, so he told them that those who cooperated with the government were "crucifying the true Hopi."[98] Hennacy described meeting Katchongva in a letter to a friend in Northern Ireland: "I asked questions to the radical Hopi chief all one afternoon and later wrote it up and had my Hopi CO friend Thomas Banyacya correct it."[99] Banyacya took Hennacy's eight-page draft and read it to Traditionalist leaders at a meeting in Shongopavy. Based on their feedback, Banyacya made corrections to Hennacy's depictions of purification day, White Brother, the people's relationship with Maasaw, and lesser details. He mailed the corrections to Hennacy with a request for a copy of the published version.[100] The resulting article in *The Catholic Worker* in February 1950 describes the Hopi villages, Hennacy's Hopi friends, the inscribed stone given to the Hopi by Maasaw, the "real" versus "rice-Christian" Hopi, Hopi concepts of evil, the snake dance, and people who were present. Hennacy uses Katchongva's version of the Orayvi split to buttress his previous claim that the Hopi shared the anarchist's principle of the right of secession, that Hotvela was "nearly 100% true Hopi," followed by Lower Moenkopi. Still following Katchongva's story, Hennacy described Paaqavi as the "most subservient" village, where residents "fly the flag of the conqueror."[101]

Although it appeared under Hennacy's byline, the article marked a new level of collaboration, with Banyacya now in a more consequential role than Chester Mote. Friendship grew between Banyacya and Hennacy as Banyacya wrote in September 1949 to express the pleasure of the Traditionalist leaders at meeting Hennacy and Anderson. He added a personal note, saying that his children kept asking where the *Bahana* (white man) went. Hennacy began to write directly to Banyacya, rather than sending greetings through Mote. He sent copies of new articles he had written and sometimes small gifts. Banyacya responded by offering to weave belts for Hennacy's two daughters. They shared mundane news on daily life, friends, and family, as well as news and plans vital to their common causes.[102]

On March 2, 1950, the Traditionalists wrote their second position paper as a letter to John R. Nichols, the commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Writing as the Hopi Indian Nation, Katchongva, Hermequaftewa, and Viets Lomahaftewa of Shongopavi criticized the Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation bill, believing that it would indebt the Hopis

to the federal government and "destroy our moral and spiritual foundation thereby destroying the peace and security of the entire world."[103] Denying that the United States had the authority to enact such a law, the authors promised salvation if the commissioner would come to a meeting:

> We must come together. The white people are seemed to be at loss as to what to do now in the face of this terrible H-bomb. Why don't you come to the most ancient race who know these things to learn what is to be done. We must meet together so that the common man may have his freedom and security. We want everlasting life so are you. We both aware of the fact that we are coming to the same point. To the white man it is a Judgement Day or the Last Days. To the Hopi it is the cleansing of all the wicked forces of the earth so that the common man have his day.[104]

Hennacy handed out copies of the letter in Phoenix on August 7, when he conducted his annual public protest and penance for the atomic bomb. He later published the Nichols letter in his autobiography, but edited the Traditionalists' spelling, grammar, and punctuation errors first, including six corrections to the excerpt above.[105] In January 1950, Joe Craigmyle had been released from prison and began assisting Hennacy. Learning of plans for a protest by pacifists in Washington, Hennacy proposed to Banyacya that he and Craigmyle raise funds from radical Catholics and pacifists for a trip east, where Katchongva could protest against the Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation bill directly to the president. Katchongva and Banyacya readily agreed. Thus, on March 26, 1950, with Craigmyle driving, Hennacy, Katchongva, and Banyacya departed for Washington, DC. They did not get to meet the president after arriving on April 1, but the trip allowed Hennacy to introduce Katchongva and Banyacya to a vast network of Catholic Worker loyalists, pacifists, and other radicals who hosted them from Texas to Washington and back to Arizona through the Midwest. Among those with whom they met in Washington were pacifist luminaries Bayard Rustin, David Dellinger, A. J. Muste, George Houser, and Dorothy Day. They even attended some of the pacifists' protests against the atomic bomb.[106] Hennacy summarized Katchongva's and Banyacya's interactions with his fellow radicals:

> The Hopi had met with all of the groups and the interpreter [Banyacya] had translated the Chief's message often to those interested. The Hopi fast and pray at home. To picket is not their way, but they were interested in their white brother pacifists. The

> newspapers took the Chief's picture as a man who did not want help from the government, and it appeared all over the country…. Joe and I went along with the Hopi to the Indian Bureau where we spent five hours interviewing officials.[107]

Richard Clemmer's brief account of the 1950 Washington trip contains no mention of Hennacy, Craigmyle, or help from any non-Hopis along the way. The trip is portrayed as if it had all been Katchongva and Banyacya's doing, when, in reality, the idea and arrangements were Hennacy's. In all likelihood, Clemmer merely reported what he was told by Traditionalists. The Traditionalists were very interested in the non-Indian radicals they met, thanks to Hennacy. Banyacya wrote to him in May soon after their return expressing the Traditionalists' delight in already receiving more than 20 letters of support for Katchongva's opposition to the H-bomb from people they met during the trip, including two U.S. senators. In his next visit to Hotvela on August 23, Hennacy was invited to a meeting following the village's snake dance where he was questioned by the movement's leaders about *The Catholic Worker* and Dorothy Day.[108]

Banyacya wrote in May and June telling Hennacy that he was busy arranging kiva meetings for Dan Katchongva to share opposition to the H-bomb with other Hopi leaders, and that the Traditionalists opposed a proposed highway that would be constructed through the villages at Second and Third Mesas. Revealing another side of the collaborative process, Banyacya reported that he was waiting to obtain notes from non-Indians in Flagstaff and Tucson who had attended recent Hopi meetings so that he could compile minutes and send these to Hennacy. Banyacya also busied himself with arrangements for a friend of Hennacy's who would be coming to visit.[109] By early September 1950, these plans led Hennacy and the Traditionalists to their next big move, which Hennacy described in a letter to Agnes Ingles at the University of Michigan:

> Henry Geiger, editor of MANAS, will motor to Flagstaff soon and I will meet him there and introduce him to the radical Hopi. They will sonn [sic] issue a pronouncement against taking part in war which I will get varityped and mail over the world for them.[110]

The rendezvous with Geiger and his associate, Gordon H. Clough, occurred in mid-September 1950.[111] Both men were active Theosophists and former COs from Los Angeles. Geiger edited, published, and wrote most of the pacifist philosophical newsletter *MANAS Journal.* Geiger

eagerly joined Hennacy in promoting the Hopi Traditionalists, while Clough appears to have had little further association with the Hopi after this trip.[112] Henry Geiger (b. 1908 – d. 1989) was the son of a New York City music teacher who began working as an actor before finishing high school. When the draft began in 1940, he was a magazine writer near Los Angeles, where he was active in the United Lodge of Theosophists. Obtaining CO status, he was placed in the Glendora, California, camp (CPS Camp 76) in July 1942 where he remained until released in November 1945. Clough was also stationed at the Glendora camp after originally being at nearby San Dimas (CPS Camp 2) in December 1941. Geiger was part of a group in the camp calling themselves "Pacifica Associates of Glendora." They published the pacifist newsletter *Pacifica Views*, which first brought the Hopi draft resisters to Hennacy's attention and previously had included a letter from Hennacy.[113] They published another letter from Hennacy in November 1945 after he had become fascinated with the Hopi.[114] In 1948, Geiger started the *MANAS Journal,* and soon published Hennacy's tax avoidance and Tolstoyan philosophy statement.[115] *MANAS* enjoyed a small but dedicated national readership, and was shared especially by a network of activist former COs in California who continued the Pacifica name by creating the Pacifica Foundation in 1946. Pacifica's radio stations, KPFA in Berkeley (est. 1949) and KPFK in Los Angeles (est. 1959), pioneered "listener sponsored radio." Hennacy had numerous ties to this network and was first interviewed on KPFA in 1949, but Geiger's *MANAS* may have been as important in drawing West Coast radicals' attention to the Traditionalists. *MANAS* was an "intellectual mirror image" for Pacifica's staff, who read it throughout the 1950s and often read excerpts on the air.[116] Geiger was directly involved with KPFK in its early years. The station would later broadcast Hopi Traditionalists and their supporters. The well-organized CO networks in the San Francisco Bay area and metropolitan Los Angeles laid a foundation on which the 1960s counterculture would later flourish.

As a leader in the United Lodge of Theosophists after World War II, Geiger added another important link between the Hopi Traditionalists and non-Indian practitioners of a metaphysical spirituality interested in revitalizing ancient wisdoms and establishing a "worldwide interreligious harmony."[117] Like many metaphysical spiritual traditions, theosophy posits a fundamental unity of all existence in which the individual is a microcosm of the whole cosmos. Cosmic and human evolution, five

"root races," karmic reincarnation, and a hierarchy of cosmic masters are other central elements. Theosophists embrace such esoteric ideas as belief in a lost continent of Lemuria, an idea that would later be joined to practices drawn from Hopi Traditionalism.[118] Theosophy's roots in romantic primitivism and its wide-ranging ecumenicalism predisposed Geiger to find a pacifist archetype in the Hopi Traditionalists, to romanticize them, and seek wisdom in their traditions. It was common ground he shared with Hennacy, who as a young man had read theosophy and embraced its concept of reincarnation. Theosophy, and metaphysics generally, provides followers with a pre-existing cultural template for interpreting and incorporating aspects of Hopi culture (real or perceived) into their own lives. Illustrating this, Geiger reviewed John Collier's *The Indians of the Americas* in November 1948, concluding with a contrast typical of theosophy's romantic tradition:

> [T]his very incomprehensibility of the white man's motives may be the key to the inner strength of the Indian's way of life, through these four hundred years of suffering and exploitation. And if the Indians could not assimilate motives which are leading the white men to collective self-destruction, this inflexibility of nature may finally prove the key to Indian regeneration and cultural rebirth.[119]

Geiger's September trip to Hopi had significant consequences for fellow CO George Kiyoshi Yamada (b. 1918 – d. 2005). Yamada was working with Geiger in Los Angeles when the 1950 letter to Truman introduced him to the Hopi Traditionalists. Yamada's father had emigrated from Japan in 1903 to avoid military conscription on the eve of war with Russia. The family settled in rural Nebraska where George was born, and where they raised sugar beets. Yamada's parents had been Buddhists, but became Methodists in the United States. In his teens, George decided that Methodists did not live up to Christian values, and at college in San Francisco he became involved with pacifist organizations. Yamada was granted CO status in 1941, and was ordered to report to Cascade Locks, Oregon (CPS Camp 21), only two days before Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. Although he kept a low profile due to anti-Japanese sentiment in the surrounding area after Pearl Harbor, Yamada claimed racial discrimination and violation of his civil rights when orders came for his transfer to a Japanese internment camp after President Roosevelt ordered the relocation of Japanese Americans on the West Coast. The director of the camp and his fellow COs organized church and CO support that

grew into a rare instance of sustained protest against Japanese internment. They pressured the government into a compromise, and on July 26, 1942, Yamada left for Colorado Springs CPS Camp 5 where he spent several years. The resistance to his relocation Yamada witnessed at Cascade Locks sparked in him a new activism. In Colorado he joined a desegregation effort organized by the newly formed Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). For his actions, he was jailed and put on trial. Local authorities forced his transfer to the government-run CPS Camp 135 at Germfask, Michigan, reserved for troublesome COs. There, Yamada joined work slowdowns and walked out of the camp in defiance along with nine others. For this, he was sent to a series of federal prisons for 21 months. In prison he joined efforts to desegregate a dining hall. Yamada was released at Danbury, Connecticut, on or about December 19, 1946.[120] Four days later, he and fourteen other newly released COs protested outside the White House dressed in striped prison outfits, demanding that President Truman grant amnesty to all former COs.[121]

Yamada was working for a small African American newspaper in Los Angeles in 1947 when he met Henry Geiger. Geiger introduced Yamada to theosophy, leading Yamada to embrace the doctrine of karmic reincarnation. When Geiger started *MANAS Journal* and Cunningham Press in 1948, Yamada worked for him as a linotypist and editor. Inspired by the Hopi material flowing from Hennacy to Geiger, Yamada traveled to Arizona in 1951 to live with the Traditionalists and Hennacy. Of Yamada, Hennacy wrote in *The Catholic Worker*, "He feels that the Hopi present a way of life that is an oasis in this gadget of war–mad world."[122] Yamada stayed in Arizona to help the Andersons on behalf of the Hopi Traditionalists until late 1952, when he departed for Mexico City where he studied anthropology before returning to the printing trade.[123]

The Great Collaboration

Even before Geiger's visit, he and Hennacy were developing a common vocabulary and perspective on the Hopi Traditionalists. In his unpublished novel finished in 1946, Hennacy had written of the Hopi, "They believe that their prayers, and what is more, their daily activity, helps control the Universe. *Like Atlas they feel upon their shoulders the responsibility to live good lives.*…"[124] Geiger's first reference to the Hopi from his 1948 review of Collier is strikingly similar: "The Hopi, for example, have a strange

belief that the world is kept in being—prevented from dissolution—by the collective Hopi will. *This Atlas-like function of the tribe* must have an extraordinary effect on every believing member, providing a sense of importance—not of egotism, but of giving and doing."[125] Fifteen months later in *The Catholic Worker*, Hennacy paraphrased statements of Dan Katchongva and other Traditionalists: *"The Hopi, like Atlas, hold the world upon their shoulders.* Every good deed makes for harmony of nature, not only on this earth but in the universe."[126] Both men appear enamored of the possibility that the Hopi Traditionalists really *do* sustain the rest of the world. Keeping with this metaphysical theme, Geiger endorsed the authority and purpose of the Hopi Traditionalists in *MANAS* in August 1949 after he received an early copy of the first letter to President Truman. "What nation who has taken up arms ever brought peace and happiness to its people?" he asks rhetorically. With intended irony, he answered, "Obviously, the Hopis do not understand civilization at all."[127] From Geiger's Theosophist perspective, the Hopi Traditionalists understood better than most non-Indians what ought to be most important to humanity. Thus, when he and Clough arrived at Hopi in September 1950, Geiger was already on board with the Traditionalists' cause.

The big event of that September trip was the drafting of a second letter to President Truman. According to Hennacy, he, Anderson, Geiger, and Clough largely left the Traditionalists alone to prepare their letter. But as part of planning for the letter, Banyacya had traveled to Phoenix to gather data. He stayed with Hennacy and visited with the Andersons. Hennacy does not say so, but given the letter's focus there is every likelihood that Hennacy and the Andersons provided the data that Banyacya sought. Writing to Truman under the name Hopi Indian Sovereign Nation, the Traditionalists protested the new military draft for the Korean War by citing Katchongva's prophecy of the need to wait peacefully for White Brother's return. Lacking a treaty with the United States meant they had no cause to join the conflict, they stated. They raised other issues, again protesting against the Hopi Tribal Council and the Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation Act. The letter was signed by Katchongva and Hermequaftewa. Banyacya mailed the original to Hennacy, who had Rik Anderson varitype 1,000 copies that Hennacy then mailed. Some were sent overseas. In October, the Associated Press issued a short article about the letter while the entire text appeared in the *International Worker*. Geiger published portions of the letter along with extracts from the first letter to Truman in his essay "The Peaceful People" in *MANAS*

in November. *The Catholic Worker* published the entire letter in December.[128]

On his way back to Phoenix after Geiger's visit, Hennacy stopped to see friends in Flagstaff who introduced him to Platt and Barbara Cline. Platt Cline (b. 1911 – d. 2001), the publisher of Flagstaff's newspaper, *The Arizona Daily Sun*, had been reading *The Catholic Worker* and was sympathetic to the Traditionalists. He had sent someone to Katchongva's May 1949 meetings at Hotvela who provided Banyacya with notes. Cline now became another important node in the emerging network, causing Banyacya to set up a mid-December meeting in Flagstaff of Cline, Katchongva, and other Traditionalist leaders.[129] The following year was a busy one for Hennacy and his associates. Hennacy's January 1951 letter to the tax collector was published by *The Catholic Worker*, explaining his refusal to pay taxes. In strident language clearly intended for general dissemination, Hennacy praised the Traditionalists, and for the first time referred to the movement as "traditional Hopi" rather than the "real Hopi":

> There are two groups in this country which live the pacifist-anarchist principle of reliance upon God rather than government. One group is the traditional Hopi Indians who have lived for a thousand years on high mesas near the Grand Canyon without a murder, without jails, and without courts and fines…. True Hopi refused to register for the draft and went to prison. The 'Christian' Hopi went to war…. The other group, which is based upon voluntary poverty, is the Catholic Worker.[130]

In February, Hennacy, Craigmyle, and the Andersons attended the katsina initiations of children in Hotvela as guests of Chester Mote and Thomas Banyacya (see photo). In March, Katchongva, Hermequaftewa, Banyacya, and Ralph Tawangyawma (b. 1884 – d. 1972) met with Hennacy, who composed a letter to be sent in their name to the governor of Arizona protesting a bill to legalize the sale of alcohol to Indians.[131] In an April column, Hennacy noted that people were coming to associate his protest activities with his interest in the Hopi, whom he had visited three times by then.[132] Meanwhile, George Yamada arrived from Los Angeles and spent the spring living with the Banyacyas and the summer with Hennacy working as a day laborer.[133] Hennacy's July contribution in *The Catholic Worker* described Yamada and his embrace of the Traditionalists.[134] The previous month, *The Catholic Worker* published Hennacy's review of anthropologist Laura Thompson's second book on the Hopi, *Culture in Crisis* (Harper, 1950). Hennacy complains that

Friends at Hopi, February 1951. L to R: Rik Anderson, Chester Mote, Thomas Banyacya (standing); Ammon Hennacy and Joe Craigmyle (kneeling). Source: AHP Box 2, Series 5, Personal Files—Photographs.

Thompson whitewashes what the past administration did to the Hopi, and expresses indignation over her implication that the Hotvela Traditionalists were "making up" their traditions just to be intransigent. "How an intelligent person can be so muddle-headed can only be explained I suppose by the fact that she has no conception of the basic Hopi anarchist ideal, and her ethical outlook fails to comprehend the essential pacifism of the Hopi," writes Hennacy.[135] Thompson's sin was that she had recognized that Hotvela's "tradition" (she put it in quotes) differed from other villages' and was actively coming into being as opposed to simply enduring, as Hennacy believed.[136] Hennacy's pique later became a standard conceit among metaphysical followers of the Hopi Traditionalists: they know the Hopi better than anthropologists or other Hopis. Although he previously held Thompson in high regard, his reaction was foreshadowed in 1949 when he wrote to a friend: "Just straight anthropology is not enough; need a little personality and propaganda to oil things up."[137]

For Hennacy's annual public fast and protest against the atomic bomb in August, he, the Andersons, and Yamada prepared a pamphlet which declared that the Hopi have lived "the true way...for a thousand years without laws, courts, jails or murders.… The government has drafted

Hopi to fight and die in far-away lands. All this is wrong and shameful, and we should have no part of it…." Over 800 copies were mailed to religious leaders and the radical press, even overseas to London. *The Catholic Worker* published the flyer alongside Hennacy's article about his protest in its September issue.[138] Two weeks later, Hennacy and the Andersons attended another snake dance at Second Mesa. Hennacy reported to his readers that Dan Katchongva would not permit himself to be filmed by anthropologists associated with the National Congress of American Indians who attended the dance.[139] "Seems the more educated anthropologists are, the less they know what is going on *today*," Hennacy wrote of this experience, with perhaps some lingering bitterness over Thompson's *Culture in Crisis.*[140]

The pace of collaboration with the Traditionalists continued in 1952. Yamada published his first article supporting Traditionalist land claims in the radical journal *Crisis,* while Hennacy's contribution to *The Catholic Worker* the same month described Banyacya's and a CO friend's roles in the Traditionalists' successful protest against a display of Niman katsina statues inappropriately holding bows at the state fair the previous November.[141] In April, Hennacy told readers that a Hopi silversmith friend and his wife helped him and the Andersons prepare his annual March tax protest materials and had done so in previous years.[142] His May contribution described a visit by Banyacya and his family, and gave a short, glowing description of Banyacya's efforts to subvert Governor Pyle's plans for the Hopis. The Banyacyas, Hennacy declared, "have finished with the ways of the white man."[143]

Hennacy's August 1952 annual atomic bomb protest pamphlet extolled the Hopi as "a thousand-year-old example of people already living this good life, having no need for government, election campaigns, courts, prisons, murder or warfare. I speak of the traditional Hopi who have found the key to living harmoniously together."[144] The entire text was published the following month in *The Catholic Worker*. When his seven-day protest and fast ended, Hennacy departed for an East Coast lecture tour, speaking on Christian anarchism and pacifism from September through December. He frequently championed the Hopi Traditionalists as his living model of a pacifist–anarchist society, accompanying some of these lectures with audio recordings of Hopi dances. He made brief mention of the Hopi in two articles that fall and winter.[145] When he returned to Arizona, Platt Cline played for him a tape recording he had recently completed of Banyacya translating Andrew Hermequaftewa's narration of "The Hopi Way of Life Is the Way of

Peace." Hennacy describes this briefly in his January 1953 contribution to *The Catholic Worker*, where he also mentions the tragic death of Fred Pakonva, one of the original Hopi draft resisters. Platt published Hermequaftewa's narrative in July 1954 in a souvenir tourist magazine for the annual Southwest All-Indian Powwow. This text went on to become one of the most widely reproduced Traditionalist documents.[146]

In the January 1953 issue of *The Catholic Worker*, Hennacy noted how western governors meeting in Phoenix had advocated the abolition of the BIA and the transfer of Indian lands to the states. This, Hennacy argues, would be worse for the Indians than keeping a terrible Indian bureau in place. His next two articles that winter and spring made brief mention of the Hopis, including how he and Joe Craigmyle had to drop their plans to attend the Hopi christening of Banyacya's son, due to the death of Hennacy's employer.[147] In contrast, his annual tax protest flyers included substantial text on the Hopi. Following his usual characterizations of the Hopi, Hennacy revisited the threatened end of federal oversight:

> Secretary of the Interior McKay, working in the General Motors Cabinet of the General who now is President, camouflages the Government's desire to grab the coal, oil and uranium located on the Hopi Reservation by using the words freedom and democracy. He says they want to free the Indians from the restrictions of the Federal Government by turning over the Hopi and other reservation Indians to the states. All the freedom they are interested in is the freedom to exploit and tax.[148]

A Falling Out

Hennacy's fixation with the Hopi Traditionalists suffered a serious blow in the spring of 1953 when the Banyacyas and their relatives reacted unfavorably to a draft of Hennacy's April *Catholic Worker* article, "Loma." While the centerpiece of the article was a tender description of the naming of Thomas and Fermina Banyacya's new baby boy, Hennacy focused principally on several political issues of concern to the Hopi Traditionalists: (1) a lawsuit launched by the Tribal Council's lawyer to reclaim Hopi lands lost to Navajo and Anglo encroachment, (2) Arizona's attempts to legalize the sale of liquor to Indians, and (3) Interior Secretary McKay's desire to assimilate all Indians. Included in the midst of the article is a letter from the Traditionalists to Senator Barry Goldwater charging him

with supporting policy proposals that will harm the Hopis. In each of these battles, Hennacy contrasted the "true Hopis"—such as Thomas and Fermina Banyacya, Dan Katchongva, Andrew Hermequaftewa, David Monongye, and the former draft resisters—with their enemies, the federal and state governments, the Tribal Council, and its supportive "stooge Republican Christians."[149] Hennacy failed to take into consideration how poorly this would play among Fermina Banyacya's family, who were Mennonites and Tribal Council supporters. According to Cline, there had been some dissatisfaction previously among Banyacya's family when Hennacy used names in his articles, but, if it had been conveyed to Hennacy, it never registered.[150]

However, there was a more important issue over which Hennacy was falling out of favor. This concerned the use of political and legal means to achieve Traditionalist goals. The Andersons, Yamada, and Cline were pursuing this strategy in support of Hopi land claims and other issues. This was anathema to Hennacy, for whom politicians, lawyers, and the courts represented arms of the corrupt state. Criticizing this approach in a letter to Cline in early April, Hennacy mocked the Andersons' belief that courts would support Hopi rights: "This is kid's stuff. What do they expect courts are for?"[151] Cline reacted especially poorly to letters that Hennacy had written in support of the Traditionalists to Orme Lewis in the BIA and to Senator Goldwater. Cline believed the Traditionalists were on the threshold of two major accomplishments: convincing the BIA to replace the Tribal Council with rule by the traditional *kikmongwis*, and obtaining access to CO status for Hopis on religious grounds (he was correct only about the second). Cline feared that "branding the REAL Hopis as 'Christian anarchists' at this time, in a newspaper considered very 'radical' would give characters like Lewis, Pyle and Goldwater just the sort of ammunition they could so well use to do very great harm to the Hopi.... This is not your problem, but the Hopi problem," Cline wrote to Hennacy, "and they approve the use of these channels, because they have asked me to do these things I have done."[152] Hennacy had difficulty distinguishing the dispute over strategy from the Banyacyas' reaction to "Loma." His letter to Banyacya sometime between April 7 and 24 reveals his confusion:

> When Platt was down here I showed him the LOMA article and he made a correction or two about who was at the christening, etc., but said it was a good article. It was very long so much of it had to be left out. Now this morning Platt phones Rik and tells me that

> you and Fermina are embarrassed to death because I mention you; that you do not like the use of the word anarchist and that by my being so radical, I am spoiling whatever he [Platt] is trying to do writing to the politicians in Washington. Now I have said nothing now that I haven't been saying since you knew me and I sent Platt copies of most of the letters I write on this subject. He asked Rik to tell me not to mail any letters to Orme Lewis or Goldwater, but I already mailed them yesterday.... I told him [Platt] in the letter that I did not believe in going to law for rights. It is the Hopi Way of life that you folks live that is the true witness to the world and not what politicians promise.... I would not think of telling you and Dan [Katchongva] what to do and if I am hurting your cause by anything I do, please tell me frankly and I will cease.... Platt told Rik on the phone that if I wanted to die on the barricades, that was o.k., but the Hopi didn't; that they were not radicals like I make out.[153]

Evidently, Banyacya did feel that Hennacy's actions were not always helpful, because he responded by imposing a few controls on Hennacy. Hennacy repeats Banyacya's response in a letter to Cline on April 24:

> Thomas replied that Fermina's Mennonite women folks raised hell and as we both know a man is at the mercy of a lot of women around Hopiland. He said as Fermina was not of the Hopi way yet in understanding to have her name and that of her family in the CW [*Catholic Worker*] which they connected up with do-de-ga the old cruelty of the Spaniards and priests was bad. He knew that my actions were in good meaning and I was a true friend of the Hopi and he appreciated my efforts. He asked me not to use the name of any of his family in my book [Hennacy's autobiography]. I sent corrections at once to the printer. Also not to write anything new of the Hopi without their o.k. I told him this would be o.k. except if I was putting out a leaflet for picketing and mentioned something I couldn't wait for the long time it took for them to answer.[154]

Reflecting on these exchanges after Hennacy's death, his widow Joan Thomas concludes, "Ammon has ceased to be a character and turned into a reality, a reality meddling where he has no business meddling.... And as always in letters of this sort, kind and apologetic as Ammon is, there reigns a terrible condescension."[155] Nevertheless, Cline responded in a friendly way, so Hennacy wrote back on May 1 to thank him, even as he stuck to his opinion that no harm would come from his statements

to politicians. Hennacy referred to a second letter from Banyacya which suggested that all was well between them:

> Thomas wrote me two nice letters showing his confidence in me. I understand about not using his name and getting him in bad with the Mennonite women. In Thomas' last letter he says, "The real Hopi keeps away from all political affairs of a white man. To start voting, accepting welfare money from state, ration, drinking whiskey, etc. lead to abandonment of Hopi way and doing white man's way… I apprecaite [sic] your help in trying to get the Hopi problems to the people everywhere. We will have another letter to Washington soon about the draft and may go into Flagstaff to hold a meeting with people there and explain the old Hopi traditional and religious beliefs."[156]

Despite the optimism that things might continue as they had, this was not to be the case. The names of the Banyacyas were stripped from Hennacy's autobiography, replaced with "Hopi friend" and Chief Dan's "interpreter." Hennacy implemented the new rule in his May article in *The Catholic Worker*, referring only to "two Hopi friends." He also begins drifting away: his June article only mentions how windy it is at the Hopi mesas.[157] Yet Hennacy clung obstinately to his characterization of the Hopi Traditionalists as pacifist anarchists. He wrote to Cline on this point in June 1953: "The Hopi surely are not Democrats or Republicans, Socialists or Communists, and the way they live is true anarchism whether they call it that or not. Cultures are not extinguished by being true to their ideals and being radical; they are done for by compromise and watering down and by become [sic] prosperous. I am not worrying about the Hopi though."[158] As soon as his annual August atomic bomb protest concluded, Hennacy abandoned his original plan to remain in Arizona—"to be where I can see you [the Traditionalists] and be inspired by your fine lives"[159]—and departed for New York. On his way out of Arizona, he stopped for visits with the Clines and some of the Hopis.[160]

This marked the end of Ammon Hennacy's intensive support of the Hopi Traditionalists, but he never abandoned his belief that they were a model of pacifist anarchism. In June 1954, he appeared on Pacifica's KPFA radio in Berkeley to speak on the Hopi. The station placed quotations from the Traditionalists' 1950 letter to Commissioner Nichols on the cover of that month's program guide. His November 1954 article summarizing the trip noted visits with Hopi friends and the Clines along the way.[161] Seeing *Hopitu*, a Hopi-styled opera, at Carnegie Hall in New

York in March 1955 with Dorothy Day triggered a long reminiscence on the Hopi published the next month.[162] In January 1956, Hennacy published "Hopi Indians vs. The Government or, Democracy vs. Dictatorship" in *The Catholic Worker* on the federal government's Hopi Hearings that were held on the reservation.[163] Returning to KPFA in 1958, Hennacy repeated his familiar refrain on the Hopi Traditionalists: "These people are anarchists and pacifists—they don't know what the words mean even, but they went to jail during the wartime. They're good people. But they are getting messed up by the government and the government missionaries—you know that."[164] When the Hopi Hearings resumed in Washington in 1958, Hennacy attended for a day. In May 1959, after Katchongva, Monongye, Tawangyawma, Banyacya, Paul Sewemaenewa, and George Nasewesewma were denied entrance to the United Nations, having hoped to deliver their apocalyptic prophecy, they visited Hennacy before going to a meeting with the emerging Onondaga "traditionalists" in upstate New York.[165] Hennacy publicized the Hopi Traditionalists' opposition to bills before Congress in June 1957 and was asked to speak to a sociology class at Yale in November as a Hopi expert.[166] In his last work on the Hopi Traditionalists, "Yukeoma, the Hopi," in his posthumously published *The One-Man Revolution*, Hennacy reports what his Hopi visitors in New York had told him in 1959:

> They told me of the tradition of many years ago when glass was only used for windows, that the time would come when the exploiters of the world would gather together in a big glass house in a big city by the ocean, and that fire from the sky would demolish it. They came to warn the inhabitants of this glass house of what was coming to them. They had spoken, but they had not been heard.[167]

Although Hennacy was largely finished supporting the Traditionalists on an active basis in August 1953, those he had lured to the cause were not. George Yamada continued to collaborate with the Andersons in Phoenix from his new home in Mexico in an unsuccessful effort to persuade an attorney to challenge the legitimacy of the Tribal Council. He published "The Great Resistance" in *The Chicago Jewish Forum* in winter 1953, telling how the "traditional" Hopi, victimized by stock reduction, the Tribal Council, Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation, and the Indian Claims Commission, were bravely resisting alien domination under Katchongva's leadership. In a book review published in Mexico

the next year, he asserted that Hotvela's residents had maintained Hopi traditions unabated. Henry Geiger published his own review of the Hopi Hearings in *MANAS* in November 1956, and he, too, lauded Katchongva's leadership.[168] The last major contribution from Hennacy's original band of associates was Yamada's *The Great Resistance: A Hopi Anthology* (1957), which reprints articles about the Traditionalists from diverse sources between 1953 and 1956, and contains Traditionalist statements from this immediate post-Hennacy period. Clemmer characterizes this publication as the work of a professional anthropologist, but this exaggerates Yamada's status. Mischa Titiev, who had been the first anthropologist to closely examine the Orayvi split of 1906, more accurately describes *The Great Resistance* as "sincere, well-intentioned, and often heart-rending," but "emotional rather than strictly factual." As an example, Titiev pointed out the inaccuracy of calling Dan Katchongva the "traditional chief" of Hotvela, when in fact Katchongva was not the legitimate heir to the chieftainship and was considered a "trouble-maker" by many Hotvela residents.[169]

Hennacy visited Hopi five times between 1958 and 1968. In a 1960 kiva meeting, the four Traditionalists leaders, Katchonvga, Banyacya, David Monongye, and John Lansa, told Hennacy "You are a hero" and presented him with a turquoise bolo tie.[170] And yet, Hennacy's relationship with Banyacya was never completely healed. Banyacya left Hennacy out of the narrative of his own role in the Traditionalist Movement he gave to fellow partisan Richard Clemmer. He burnished his own reputation at Hennacy's expense by leading Clemmer to believe that he had emerged from prison "in the late 1940s as a seasoned, experienced, articulate cultural broker who knew the ins and outs of political organizing in the 'modern' sense, with some 'partisan' contacts on the outside."[171] Banyacya was not entirely truthful in telling Clemmer that he had made one important political contact during his incarceration in Tucson Federal Prison Camp. This, he claimed, was Lew Ayres, the star of *All Quiet on the Western Front* (Universal Studios, 1930) and nine Dr. Kildare movies from 1939 to 1942. Ayres spent several months in 1942 at Cascade Locks, Oregon CPS Camp 21, while Yamada was there. He was also in the Tucson camp for only a few days or weeks before he obtained the non-combatant status that he had sought in the first place. Ayres served with distinction as a medical corpsman in the Pacific throughout the war. While it is remotely possible that Ayres first told outside conscientious objectors about the Hopi draft resisters, there is

no evidence that he played any role in the emergence of the Hopi Traditionalist Movement.[172]

In fact, it was Hennacy who first provided an organized network of outside support for the Traditionalists. It also was Hennacy who initiated the relationship with the Traditionalists in the first place by writing to Chester Mote in the summer of 1945, followed by their July 1947 meeting. Mote developed Hennacy's interest in the Hotvela Hopis and introduced Hennacy to Hopi politics, Katchongva, and Banyacya. Only in late 1949 did Banyacya begin to supplant Mote as Hennacy's major correspondent and collaborator. Banyacya became a more effective and important broker for the movement after he accompanied Dan Katchongva on the trip to Washington, DC, that Hennacy initiated and arranged. Hennacy's network of COs, Catholic Workers, Theosophists, and other radicals then became Banyacya's outside partisans. This early involvement of non-Indians in the development of the Hopi Traditionalist Movement underscores the need to think of the movement not simply as a Hopi development, but as one that was always multiethnic and multifaceted. Certainly, there were always some purely Hopi arenas of interaction, and there is no question that Banyacya eventually became the Traditionalists' most recognizable figure. But Hennacy's involvement in the movement's early years is too significant to overlook. Why Banyacya chose to conceal Hennacy's influence on the trajectory of his own life and the fortunes of the Traditionalist Movement remains a mystery, but perhaps he simply still worried about being associated with an anarchist.

It may be instructive to let Ammon Hennacy's widow, Joan Thomas, have the last word about the end of Hennacy's intensive interaction with the Traditionalists in 1953. "It's almost like here in Arizona, for all their staying friends, his love affair with the Hopi is over, even as some years later in New York City, so will be over his love affair with [Dorothy Day] and [*The Catholic Worker*]. And yet till his death these loves will remain, long past the infatuating affair stage in which almost he reads these persons as being in thought and belief replicas of himself or close to it…."[173] Years afterward while reminiscing with Platt Cline, Thomas observed, "You are the first person whom I have ever heard declare my exact ideas about Ammon and the Hopis—of course he projected his own beliefs onto them…. He would have lived in their society far less well than he lived in that of the whites…."[174] ✣

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Abbreviations:

AHA	Ammon Hennacy and Associates Collection (MS 346), Special Collections and Archives Department, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff.
AHP	Ammon Hennacy Papers, 1918–1966, Labadie Collection, Special Collections Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
AHU	Ammon Hennacy Papers (MS 555), Special Collections and Archives, J. Willard Marriot Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.
AIP	Agnes Inglis Papers, 1909–1954, Labadie Collection, Special Collections Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
PCC	Platt Cline Collection, 1884–1983 (MS 91), Special Collections and Archives Department, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff.
WBF	White Bear Fredericks Collection (MS 316), Special Collections and Archives Department, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff.

Notes

1. Mary Farrell and Jeff Burton, "Gordon Hirabayashi, the Tucsonians, and the U.S. Constitution: Negotiating Reconciliation in a Landscape of Exile," in *Archaeologies of Internment,* eds. Adrian Myers and Gabriel Moshenska, 89–110 (New York: Springer, 2011). The precise number of Hopi internees at the Tucson

prison camp is not clear. Townsend states that eight Hopi draft resisters received religious deferments and six were incarcerated. The Bureau of Prisons could locate records for only six of 14 Hopi men whose names I provided. One Hopi internee said that he was one of five interned, another reported that he was in a group of seven initially arrested and convicted of whom six were interned, but that they were followed by four more. Hennacy states that eight Hopis were imprisoned, but his early letters say five. I count at least 11 convicted men, some of whom were convicted and interned a second or third time. Some of the convictions were for other offenses, especially resisting livestock reduction. Accounts often lump these under the draft issue. See Kenneth W. Townsend, *World War II and the American Indian* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 83–84, 240n7; Federal Bureau of Prisons (hereafter FBP), "Re: Request for Information, FOIA Request Number 2013-09326" (unpublished MS in the author's possession, September 27, 2013); Frank Waters, *Book of the Hopi* (New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1963), 317–321; William Gillespie, personal communication, June 8, 2011; Ammon Hennacy, *The One-Man Revolution in America* (Salt Lake City: Ammon Hennacy Publications, 1970), 208–209, 211; Hennacy correspondence, August–December 1945, AHU Box 4, Folder 2.

2. I follow Ekkehart Malotki's orthography for place names and Hopi words, but I keep spellings of Hopi personal names used by those individuals during their lifetimes.

3. James J. Farrell, *The Spirit of the Sixties: Making Postwar Radicalism* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 5, see also 21–23, 38–39, 56, 178, 222, 227n61, 309n35.

4. Throughout this article, lowercase spellings of *tradition* and *traditional* refer to the commonsense meanings of these words, whereas capitalized *Traditional* and *Traditionalist* refer to the Hopi Traditionalist Movement.

5. James Treat, *Around the Sacred Fire: Native Religious Activism in the Red Power Era* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 15, 17–21, 23–24, 30, 34; Sherry L. Smith, *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

6. Richard O. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky: The Hopi Indians in a Century of Change* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), 199.

7. *Ibid.*, 184–185. Clemmer touched on some of Hennacy's Hopi writings only in Richard O. Clemmer, review of *Hopi Bibliography*, by David Laird, *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 4, no. 3 (1980): 104–113.

8. See Richard O. Clemmer, "Directed Resistance to Acculturation: A Comparative Study of the Effects of Non-Indian Jurisdiction on Hopi and Western Shoshone Communities" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1972); Richard O. Clemmer, *Continuities of Hopi Culture Change* (Ramona, CA: Acoma Books, 1978); Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 179–181; cf. Shuichi Nagata, *Modern Transformations of Moenkopi Pueblo* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), 92–96; Shuichi Nagata, "Dan Kochhongva's Message: Myth, Ideology and Political Action among the Contemporary Hopi," *Yearbook of Symbolic*

Anthropology 1 (1978): 73–87; Shuichi Nagata, "Political Socialization of the Hopi Traditional Faction: A Contribution to the Theory of Culture Change," *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society* 11, no. 1 (1979): 111–137; Bruce A. Cox, "What Is Hopi Gossip About? Information Management and Hopi Factions," *Man,* n.s., 5, no. 1 (1970): 88–98; Emory Sekaquaptewa, "Preserving the Good Things in Hopi Life," in *Plural Society in the Southwest*, eds. Edward H. Spicer and Raymond H. Thompson, (New York: Weatherhead Foundation, 1972), 244–245; Peter M. Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts: Changing Hopi Culture through the Oraibi Split* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), 223–237; Armin W. Geertz, *The Invention of Prophecy: Continuity and Meaning in Hopi Indian Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

9. For Hopi terms for their political factions, see Nagata, *Modern Transformations*, 55–62, 92–93; Cox, "What Is Hopi Gossip"; Clemmer, *Continuities,* 59–61; Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, 223–224.

10. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 181, 324n70.

11. Ammon Hennacy, "The Hopi Indians," *Why?* 4, no. 8 (1946): 8–9; unidentified newspaper article, November 1947, AHU Box 3, Folder 1.

12. An authoritative description of primitivism is Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1935), 1–22.

13. Nagata, *Modern Transformations*, "Dan Kochhongva's Message," and "Political Socialization."

14. Geertz, *Invention of Prophecy*, 287.

15. *Ibid*., 257–319.

16. Discussion of creating *Book of the Hopi* began between Fredericks and Frederick H. Howell at Orayvi in 1956, but languished for two years (Howell to Fredericks, June 10, 1958, WBF Box 1, Folder 1). Howell recognized that the intent of the project was "espousing the traditionalist's view" (Howell to McGibbeny, August 4, 1958, WBF Box 1, Folder 1).

17. Geertz, *Invention of Prophecy*, xiii–xvii.

18. Major sources on Hennacy include the several editions of his autobiography, e.g., *The Book of Ammon* (Salt Lake City: Hennacy Press, 1965), and biographies: Joan Thomas, *The Years of Grief and Laughter: A "Biography" of Ammon Hennacy* (Phoenix: Hennacy Press, 1974), and "The Least of These," 3 vols., unpublished MS, n.d., AHA Series 4, Boxes 1–3; Patrick G. Coy, "The One-Person Revolution of Ammon Hennacy," in *A Revolution of the Heart: Essays on the Catholic Worker,* ed. Patrick G. Coy, 134–176 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988). For original documents see especially AHA, AHP, and AHU.

19. Hennacy was incarcerated at Atlanta Federal Penitentiary from July 13, 1917, until February 18, 1919, and spent another eight months in a state prison (Record for Ammon A. Hennacy, Index to Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, Inmate Case Files, 1902–1921, National Archives at Atlanta, GA [retrieved from Ancestry.com, June 25, 2012]); Federal Bureau of Investigation (hereafter FBI), "Subject: Hennacy, Ammon A., Response to Freedom of Information/Privacy Act Request

No. 1138771-000" (unpublished docs. in the author's possession, December 9, 2010), file 100--SU-9531---Sec 1, pp. 13–26, 101.

20. Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 33ff, 43ff. In a 1945 letter (Hennacy to Erich and Genevieve, Oct. 30, 1945, AHU Box 4, Folder 2), Hennacy claims his "first wife" was Madeline Z. Doty, the famous lawyer and prison reformer, who was 14 years Hennacy's senior. In 1919, she married Roger Baldwin, Hennacy's boss and founder of the American Civil Liberties Union.

21. Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 43ff. Hennacy published in at least nine different radical newspapers and journals between 1924 and 1939 (AHP Box 1, Series 3, Clippings). On the roots of I AM, see Catherine L. Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 467–471. Although sympathetic toward theosophy, Hennacy complained bitterly about his wife's I AM "cult" in letters to acquaintances and his autobiography (see, e.g., *Book of Ammon,* 58, 59, 134–135, 141, 256, 259). He studied its publications only to cast the group as a doomed sect in his unpublished novel, "Unto the Least of These," unpublished MS, December 1946, AHP Box 1, Series 2.

22. In response to my request, the FBI located 1,179 pages of documents pertaining to Hennacy, and reported that other files in Phoenix, New York, and El Paso had been destroyed between 1974 and 1991. I retrieved 604 pages focusing on the 1940s and early 1950s, but with files as late as 1970 from Salt Lake City (FBI, "Subject: Hennacy"). All documents were mildly redacted to conceal the names of agents, informants, and other subjects. The documents reveal agents routinely interpreted Hennacy's Christian anarchism as sedition, mental imbalance, or communism. Two reports that Hennacy was "unbalanced"—one by the U.S. Attorney in Denver and the other by Albuquerque agents in 1945—caused U.S. Attorneys to refuse to prosecute Hennacy for sedition through 1952 (*ibid.*, files 100--HQ-22278---Sec 1, p. 104, and 100A--SU-9531---Sec 1, p. 108).

23. Hennacy used the phrase "one man revolution" to describe his life's work. For Hennacy in the Catholic Worker Movement, see Coy, *Revolution of the Heart*; Andrew Cornell, "A New Anarchism Emerges, 1940–1954," *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 5, no. 1 (2011): 114–115; and James J. Farrell, *The Spirit of the Sixties: Making Postwar Radicalism* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 21–50.

24. Curtis Zahn, "Help for the Hopi!" *Pacifica Views* 2, no. 10 (March 30, 1945): 3–4.

25. Hennacy letters, August and September, 1954, AHU Box 4, Folder 2.

26. Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 85–86.

27. Hennacy was criticized by fellow radicals for being more concerned about his personal integrity than in effecting change. He is perceived by insiders of having joined the Catholic Worker Movement because of his romantic infatuation with Dorothy Day (James Tracy, *Direct Action: Radical Pacifism from the Union Eight to the Chicago Seven* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996], 66–67). While these criticisms are well founded, they ignore Hennacy's inspiration of others.

28. William Hogan, "Hennacy, a Unique American Rebel," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 26, 1965, AHU Box 8, Folder 20; FBI, "Subject: Hennacy," file 100A--SU-9531---Sec 2, pp. 114–116.

29. Rev. William H. Dubay, "A Patriarch of the Peace Fight," *Los Angeles Free Press*, April 7–13, 1967, pp. 1–2.

30. FBI, "Subject: Hennacy," file 100A--SU-9531---Sec 3, pp. 160–163.

31. Geertz, *Invention of Prophecy*, 139–140.

32. There are many published sources on the Orayvi split, beginning with Mischa Titiev, *Old Oraibi: A Study of the Hopi Indians of Third Mesa*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 22, no. 1 (Cambridge: Peabody Museum, 1944). For the essentials, see Sekaquaptewa "Preserving the Good Things" and Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, 71–118. For the most recent analysis, see Peter M. Whiteley, *The Orayvi Split: A Hopi Transformation*: Part I, *Structure and History,* American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers 87 (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 2008).

33. A summary of opposing positions is Whiteley, *Orayvi Split*, 6–11.

34. Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, 243–284; cf. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 112–124.

35. Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, 65–69.

36. *Ibid*., 198–210, 233, 273–283.

37. As of this writing, the Council seats representatives from only four villages: Upper Moenkopi, Paaqavi, Kykotsmovi, and Mishongnovi.

38. Fredrik Barth, *Cosmologies in the Making: A Generative Approach to Cultural Variation in Inner New Guinea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Geertz, *Invention of Prophecy*, 77–78. See also Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*; Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, 64–69.

39. Geertz, *Invention of Prophecy*, 70–77.

40. Titiev, *Old Oraibi*, 60; Waters, *Book of the Hopi*, 30–33; Geertz, *Invention of Prophecy*, 183, 185, 186, 189.

41. Geertz, *Invention of Prophecy*, 126.

42. Nagata, "Dan Kochhongva's Message," 76, 240.

43. *Ibid*.; Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, 270–271; Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 84–85.

44. The testimony is difficult to assess, as it comes from a time when Katchongva had many critics. Hennacy stumbled across the same testimony when he read the 1955 Hopi Hearings transcripts. His confusion is rendered by a large handwritten "?" next to the pertinent text (Notes on *Hopi Hearings*, AHU Box 9, Folder 8).

45. Geertz, *Invention of Prophecy*, 233, 239–242; Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 181–184; Sekaquaptewa, "Preserving the Good Things," 240–241; Elmer Sekaquaptewa, Review of *Continuities of Hopi Culture Change*, by Richard O. Clemmer, *Ethnohistory* 29, no. 1 (1982): 73–74.

46. Nagata, "Dan Kochhongva's Message," 86n2.

47. Chief Dan Kotchongva, "Where Is the White Brother of the Hopi Indian," *Improvement Era* 39, no. 2 (1936): 118–119.

48. Nagata, *Modern Transformations*, 58; Geertz, *Invention of Prophecy*, 137–139. Townsend (*World War II*, 86) errs by stating that Don Talayesva equated Hitler with the Pahaana, but his source clearly states it was Katchongva, and Talayesva disagreed (Don Talayesva and Leo W. Simmons, *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942], 379).

49. "Hotevilla Hopi Oppose Draft," *Arizona Republic*, October 17, 1940, p. 11; Waters, *Book of the Hopi,* 318–319.

50. "Hopi Claim Religion Is Bar To Service," *Arizona Republic*, May 24, 1941, p. 10.

51. Dan Katchongva, interview by Oswald Fredericks, October 29–30, 1959, WBF Box 4, Folder 81; Paul Sewemaenewa, interview by Oswald Fredericks, April 1, 1960, WBF Box 6, Folder 143; William Gillespie, personal communication, June 8, 2011.

52. Waters, *Book of the Hopi,* 319.

53. See *ibid.,* 317–321; Jeré Franco, "Bringing Them in Alive: Selective Service and Native Americans," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 18, no. 3 (1990): 11; Alison R. Bernstein, *American Indians and World War II: Toward a New Era in Indian Affairs* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 34. Townsend (*World War II*, 86) claims that Commissioner Collier turned against the draft resisters over the appearance of support for Hitler. The first five convicted men (with alternate surnames in parentheses) were Elmer Seequaptewa (b. 1912 – d. 1994), Roger Comahletztewa (Nasevaema; b. 1917 – d. 2011), Paul Johonet (Sewemaenewa; b. 1909 – d. ?), Leslie Kootshongsie (b. 1919 – d. 2007), and Fred Pakonva (b. 1913 – d. ca. 1952). Reuben Choykoychi (b. 1905 – d. ?) apparently accepted the judge's offer to avoid trial by registering, for he is not among those initially convicted (FBP, "FOIA Request"; "4 Hopi Indians Convicted, Failure Register for Draft," *Yuma Daily Sun,* May 22, 1941; "Prophecy Base Draft Evasion," *Gallup Independent,* May 24, 1941; "Judge Sentences 5 Draft Evaders," *Modesto Bee,* May 27, 1941).

54. "Hopi Religion Bans Fighting by Braves in White Men's War," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, April 27, 1942.

55. Franco, "Bringing Them In," 11–12; see also Townsend, *World War II*, 85, 241n11.

56. See, e.g., "Hopi Claim Religion Is Bar to Service," *Arizona Republic*, May 24, 1941; "Hopi Religion Bans Fighting by Braves in White Men's War," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, April 27, 1942.

57. Mote was sentenced August 12, 1943, for failing to report for his physical exam. He was released conditionally on May 6, 1944, and then without condition on August 12, 1944 (FBP, "FOIA Request"). Mote previously had served three months in the Keams Canyon jail for resisting livestock reduction (Hennacy, unidentified article, November 1947, and *Book of Ammon,* 87).

58. See Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 2–3, 41, 82, 62ff, 72–73, 80–81; Hennacy to Inglis, February 14, 1946, AIP Box 10.

59. Ammon Hennacy, "Ammon Among the Indians," *The Catholic Worker*, July–August 1945, 5.

60. Hennacy letters, August–September, 1945, AHU Box 4, Folder 2.

61. Thomas, "Least of These," 3: 87–88.

62. In only one letter during this time did Hennacy acknowledge Hopi murder: "…when they pushed some Spanish priests over the cliff in 1680 when they wanted Indian girls" (Hennacy to Ray, December 1, 1945, AHU Box 4, Folder 3). Decades later after reading Waters's *Book of the Hopi*, Hennacy acknowledged the Awatovi massacre, calling it "the one time that a professedly peace loving people acted like Christians" (Notes on *Book of the Hopi*, AHU Box 9, Folder 12; see also Hennacy, *One-Man Revolution,* 199).

63. Hennacy to Erich and Genevieve [Walther], October 30, 1945, AHU Box 4, Folder 2.

64. *Ibid.*

65. Hennacy, "The Hopi Indians." Hennacy submitted the manuscript in November 1945 (Hennacy to Comrades of WHY?, November 19, 1945, AHU Box 4, Folder 2).

66. Wayne Dennis, *The Hopi Child*, University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences Monograph 26 (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1940).

67. Hennacy, "The Hopi Indians," 8.

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Ibid.*

70. *Ibid.*

71. *Ibid.*

72. *Ibid.*, 9.

73. Hennacy, Notes on *The Hopi Way*, AHP Box 2, Series 4, American Indians.

74. Hennacy, "Unto the Least," 64.

75. *Ibid.*, 65

76. *Ibid.*; Hennacy to Inglis, September 20, 1947, AIP Box 10.

77. Hennacy, "Unto the Least," 280.

78. Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 82. See also Hennacy to Inglis, March 3, 1948, AIP Box 10.

79. Hennacy to Inglis, September 20, 1947, AIP Box 10; Hennacy, unidentified article, November 1947; cf. *Book of Ammon,* 86.

80. The date when Hermequaftewa associated the ash-gourd story with the atomic bomb is variously reported from 1946 to 1948. Clemmer revised his original date to 1946 based on new information from Banyacya in 1980. The lack of a precise date could mean that the association emerged gradually for Hermequaftewa over the span of time. See Craig Carpenter, "The Hopi Stand,"

Indian Views 1 (January 1958), 3; Craig Carpenter, Lecture at TILL headquarters, January 24, 1969, Box 1, Folder 6, Richard O. Clemmer Papers (D-293), Peter J. Shields Library, University of California, Davis; Clemmer, "Directed Resistance," 164–165; Clemmer, *Continuities,* 70; Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 49; Clemmer e-mail message to author, October 21, 2009.

81. Geertz, *Invention of Prophecy*, 53–55.

82. Clemmer, *Continuities,* 71.

83. *Ibid.*, 70–72; Geertz, *Invention of Prophecy*, 140–143; Carpenter, Lecture at TILL.

84. Nagata, *Modern Transformations*, 51–52, 55, 58, 78, 87–88, and "Dan Kochhongva's Message," 76–77; Geertz, *Invention of Prophecy*, 261–263; Louis Hieb, Hopi field notes, October 17, 1970, Louis A. Hieb Collection (MS 245), Box 1, Folder 5, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University; cf. Ammon Hennacy, "Brothers in Peace: The Hopi Indians," *The Catholic Worker*, February 1950; Clemmer, *Continuities,* 71, and *Roads in the Sky*, 184–185. Banyacya claimed to have been incarcerated three times between 1940 and 1945, once possibly for resisting livestock reduction (Hennacy, unidentified article, November 1947; cf. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 185). He was sentenced to three years for failure to register on October 27, 1942, but was released for Good Time on July 31, 1943 (FBP, "FOIA Request"). His second sentence under the Selective Service Act came on April 24, 1944 (Thomas Jenkins [Banyacya], Statement to judge at time of receiving second prison sentence, April 24, 1944, AHA Series 1, Box 1, Folder 15). I do not have a release date. Hennacy ("Brothers in Peace," 2; *Book of Ammon,* 126) reports that Banyacya's second Tucson sentence was for three years, but he may have confused the order of events.

85. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 186.

86. *Ibid.*, 166, 180–181, 186–188; Hopi Indian Empire to President Truman, March 28, 1949, AHA Box 1, Folder 12. The signatories included Chief Talahaftewa of Shongopovi; Sasovaya and Hermequaftewa as Advisors of Shongopovi; Chief Sackmasa, the Village Crier of Mishongnovi; Pongyayawma, Chief of Hotvela; Katchongva, listed as Advisor and Co-ruler of Hotvela; and the four interpreters, including Banyacya. The letter's text is reproduced in Clemmer, *Continuities,* 71–72, and Geertz, *Invention of Prophecy*, 441–446.

87. Nagata, "Political Socialization," 124–125.

88. Hennacy, unidentified article, November 1947; Ammon Hennacy, "Picketing the Freedom Train," *The Catholic C.O.* 4, no. 2, (1948) (AHP Box 1, Series 3, Published Articles); Hennacy to Inglis, March 3, 1948, AIP Box 10; Mote to Hennacy, November 8, 1948, Hennacy to Mote, December 21, 1948, and March 13, 1949, AHU Box 4, Folder 5.

89. Hennacy, "Picketing the Freedom Train" and *Book of Ammon,* 133.

90. Hennacy, "Brothers in Peace," 2, and *Book of Ammon,* 128; Clemmer, "Directed Resistance," 182, *Continuities,* 83, and "Long Range Plans for Self Rule Of Indians Outlined," April 8, 1949, *Arizona Daily Sun*.

91. Tracy, *Direct Action*; Cornell, *New Anarchism*; Jeff Land, *Active Radio: Pacifica's Brash Experiment* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999),

27–38; Matthew Lasar, *Pacifica Radio: The Rise of an Alternative Network* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), 3–26; Larry Gara and Lenna Mae Gara, eds., *A Few Small Candles: War Resisters of World War II Tell Their Stories* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1999).

92. Tracy, *Direct Action*; Land, *Active Radio,* 27–38; Charles Davis and Jeffrey Kovac, "Confrontation at the Locks: A Protest of Japanese Removal and Incarceration During World War II," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 107, no. 4 (2006):486–509; The "Civilian Public Service Story: Living Peace in a Time of War," Mennonite Central Committee, accessed July 19–20, 2012, civilianpublicservice.org.

93. Joseph Craigmyle, letter to the editor, *The Catholic Worker*, January 1949; Hennacy, "Life at Hard Labor," *The Catholic Worker*, June 1949, and *Book of Ammon,* 111–113, 136–137; Hennacy to Mote, December 21, 1948, and March 13, 1949, AHU Box 4, Folder 5; "Man Carries Army Dislike Through Prison," *El Paso Herald-Post*, May 18, 1949; FBI, "Subject: Hennacy," file 100--HQ-22278---Sec 1, pp. 35–46.

94. Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 110–111.

95. Hennacy to Collector of Internal Revenue, Dec. 1, 1948, Anarchism–Ammon A. Hennacy (Subject Vertical File), Labadie Collection, Special Collections Library, University of Michigan.

96. Other sources on the Andersons are AHA and "Civilian Public Service Story."

97. Hennacy to Erich and Genevieve [Walther], September 25, 1945, AHU Box 4, Folder 2.

98. Hennacy, "Brothers in Peace," 2.

99. Hennacy to Gerald [Williamson], September 2, 1949, AHU Box 4, Folder 5.

100. Banyacya to Hennacy, September 15, 1949, AHU Box 4, Folder 5.

101. Hennacy, "Brothers in Peace" and *Book of Ammon,* 125–129, 131–134.

102. Banyacya to Hennacy, September 15 and November 21, 1949, AHU Box 4, Folder 5.

103. Hopi Indian Nation to John R. Nichols, March 2, 1950, AHA Box 1, Folder 12.

104. *Ibid.*

105. FBI, "Subject: Hennacy," file 100--HQ-22278---Sec 1, pp. 52–65; Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 129–131.

106. Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 144–157; "Chief Katchongva Speaks: Sun Clan Leader Says Hopis Want No Part of Uncle Sam's Handouts," *The Daily Review* (Hayward, California), April 10, 1950; Coy, *Revolution of the Heart,* 157; Thomas, "Least of These," 3: 306[sic]–301.

107. Hennacy, *Book of Ammon*, 151–152.

108. Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 170, and *One-Man Revolution,* 209–211; cf. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 187.

109. The non-Indian from Flagstaff had been sent by Platt Cline. The person from Tucson was probably Dr. Earl Warner, chair of the University of Arizona physics department and a pacifist who corresponded with Hennacy. Banyacya to Hennacy, May 8, May 10, and June 7, 1950, AHU Box 4, Folder 6; Hennacy to Platt, October 24, 1951, PCC Box 3, Folder 76.

110. Hennacy to Inglis, September 11, 1950, AIP Box 10.

111. Hennacy to Platt Cline, March 7, 1951, PCC Box 3, Folder 76.

112. Gordon H. Clough (b. 1917 – d. 2002) was a Theosophist from South Pasadena, California. He was released from CPS in December 1945 ("Civilian Public Service Story"). His mother, Grace Evelyn Goudy Clough, was a leading figure in the Los Angeles United Lodge of Theosophists along with Geiger (James A. Santucci, "The Theosophical Society," in *Controversial New Religions*, eds. James R. Lewis and Jesper Aagaard Petersen [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005], 278).

113. "Civilian Public Service Story"; Hennacy to Inglis, January 22, 1945, AIP Box 10; Manasjournal.org.

114. Hennacy to Editors of *Pacifica Views*, November 6, 1945, AHU Box 4, Folder 2.

115. Henry Geiger, "No Compromise," *MANAS Journal*, August 11, 1948, 4.

116. Lasar, *Pacifica Radio*, 30, see also 3–37, 167, and Land, *Active Radio*, 27–38, 54.

117. Stephen Prothero, "From Spiritualism to Theosophy: 'Uplifting' a Democratic Tradition," *Religion and American Culture* 3, no. 2 (1993): 210. See also Bruce F. Campbell, *Ancient Wisdom Revived: A History of the Theosophical Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Santucci, "The Theosophical Society"; Albanese, *Republic of Mind*.

118. Sumathi Ramaswamy, "Catastrophic Cartographies: Mapping the Lost Continent of Lemuria," *Representations* 67(Summer 1999):92–129. It is no coincidence that a recently surfaced text attributed to Oswald Fredericks asserts that Hopis originated in Lemuria: see Oswald White Bear Fredericks and Kaih Khristé King, *The History of the Hopi from Their Origins in Lemuria* (Cottonwood, AZ: The King's Bridge, 2011).

119. Henry Geiger, "Frontiers: The Great Resistance," *MANAS Journal*, November 17, 1948, 13.

120. Davis and Kovak, "Confrontation"; Hennacy, "Life at Hard Labor," *The Catholic Worker,* July–August 1951, and *Book of Ammon,* 194ff; interview of George Kiyoshi Yamada by Rita Takahashi, July 15, 1999, unpublished MS, George Yamada Fonds (F-4558), Archives of Ontario, Toronto; George Yamada, *The Great Resistance: A Hopi Anthology* (New York: Yamada, 1957), 1, and "My Story of World War II," in Gara and Gara, *A Few Small Candles,* 194–204; Yamada correspondence, AHA Box 1, Folders 9–10.

121. "160 Conscientious Objectors to Gain Christmas Freedom," *Chester Times* (Chester, PA), Monday, December 23, 1946, p. 1.

122. Hennacy, "Life at Hard Labor," July–August 1951. Years later, recalling that he had met Hennacy in Denver in 1942 or 1943, Yamada said Hennacy was "far ahead of me at the time" ("My Story of World War II," 202).

123. Yamada moved to Toronto, Canada, in 1970 where he established a publishing company. He did not do anthropological fieldwork among the Hopi as Clemmer suggests (*Roads in the Sky*, 154). Yamada's time with the Hopis was a personal and spiritual quest that preceded his studies in anthropology. See Hennacy, "Life at Hard Labor," July–August 1951, and *Book of Ammon,* 194ff; interview of Yamada by Takahashi, July 15, 1999.

124. Hennacy, "Unto the Least," 69 (my emphasis).

125. Henry Geiger, "Institutions," *MANAS Journal,* November 17, 1948, 9 (my emphasis).

126. Hennacy, "Brothers in Peace," 2 (my emphasis).

127. Henry Geiger, "A Sovereign People," *MANAS Journal*, August 10, 1949, 9.

128. Associated Press, "Hopi Indians Hit at Draft," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, October 13, 1950; Henry Geiger, "The Peaceful People," *MANAS Journal,* November 29, 1950; Hennacy, "Life at Hard Labor," *The Catholic Worker,* December 1950, and *Book of Ammon,* 170–176; Dan Katchongva and Andrew Hermequaftewa, "Open Letter to President Harry S. Truman," *The Catholic Worker,* December 1950; Yamada, *Great Resistance*, iii–iv; Thomas, "Least of These," 3: 305–306; Cline to Hennacy, December 15, 1950, AHU Box 4, Folder 6.

129. Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 171; Banyacya to Hennacy, June 7, 1950, AHU Box 4, Folder 6.

130. Hennacy, "Open Letter to the Tax Collector," *The Catholic Worker,* February 1951.

131. Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 181–182, 188–191, and *One-Man Revolution,* 214.

132. Hennacy, "A Workers Apostolate," *The Catholic Worker,* April 1951.

133. Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 194; interview of Yamada by Takahashi, July 15, 1999, 73–76.

134. Hennacy, "Life at Hard Labor," July–August 1950.

135. Hennacy, "Hopi Indians," *The Catholic Worker,* June 1951, 5.

136. Laura Thompson, *Culture in Crisis: A Study of the Hopi Indians* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), 81–82.

137. Hennacy to Francis, October 9, 1949, AHU Box 4, Folder 5.

138. Hennacy, "We Have the Kind of World We Deserve," August 6–11, 1951, AHP Box 1, Series 3, Broadsides and Handouts; Hennacy, "One Man Revolution," *The Catholic Worker,* September 1951, and *Book of Ammon,* 196–198.

139. Hennacy to Platt Cline, April 10, 1951, PCC Box 3, Folder 76; Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 204–205.

140. Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 205.

141. Hennacy, "Life at Hard Labor," *The Catholic Worker,* January 1952, and *Book of Ammon,* 211–212, 229.

142. Hennacy, "The Ides of March," *The Catholic Worker,* April 1952, and *Book of Ammon,* 211–212. The silversmith could have been Ralph Tawangyawma of Hotvela or Morris Robinson (Talawytewa) of Paaqavi (Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 145, 202, 218; Margaret Nicholson Wright, *Hopi Silver: The History and Hallmarks of Hopi Silversmithing* [Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003], 15, 18).

143. Hennacy, "Life at Hard Labor," *The Catholic Worker,* May 1952, 7.

144. Hennacy, "The Real Issue of 1952," *The Catholic Worker,* September 1952.

145. Hennacy, "Life at Good Traveling," *The Catholic Worker,* November 1952, and "Notes Along the Way," *The Catholic Worker,* December 1952.

146. Hennacy, "Journey Through the West," *The Catholic Worker,* January 1953, and *Book of Ammon,* 236–261; Coy, *Revolution of the Heart,* 157; Andrew Hermequaftewa, "The Hopi Way of Life Is the Way of Peace," trans. Thomas Banyacya, *Southwest All-Indian Powwow Souvenir Magazine*, July 1954. Pakonva was convicted on May 25, 1941, and served at least one sentence at Tucson Federal Prison Camp from June 4, 1941 to May 26, 1942 (FBP, "FOIA Request").

147. Hennacy, "Journey Through the West," *The Catholic Worker,* January 1953; "Migrant Cotton Pickers," *The Catholic Worker,* February 1953; and "Life at Hard Labor," *The Catholic Worker,* March 1953.

148. Hennacy, "Tenth Anniversary of Successful Defiance of Federal Tax Laws!" March 13, 1953, AHP Box 1, Series 3, Broadsides and Handouts.

149. The published version is Hennacy, "Loma," *The Catholic Worker,* April 1953.

150. Cline to Hennacy, April 29, 1953, AHA Box 1, Folder 7.

151. Hennacy to Cline, April 6, 1953, PCC Box 3, Folder 79.

152. Cline to Hennacy, April 29, 1953, AHA Box 1, Folder 7.

153. Thomas, "Least of These," 3: 383–384.

154. Hennacy to Cline, April 24, 1953, PCC Box 3, Folder 79.

155. Thomas, "Least of These," 3: 389.

156. Hennacy to Cline, May 1, 1953, PCC Box 3, Folder 79.

157. Hennacy, "Life at Hard Labor," *The Catholic Worker,* May 1953, and "Life at Hard Labor," *The Catholic Worker,* June 1953.

158. Hennacy to Cline, June 26, 1953, PCC Box 3, Folder 79.

159. Thomas, "Least of These," 3: 385. The original letters between Banyacya and Hennacy on this matter may be lost (*ibid.*, 383).

160. Hennacy, "Hiroshima Fast," *The Catholic Worker,* October 1953.

161. KPFA Program Folio, June 13–June 26, 1954, copy in author's

possession; Hennacy, "Homeward Bound," *The Catholic Worker,* November 1954.

162. Hennacy, "In the Market Place," *The Catholic Worker,* April 1955.

163. Hennacy, "Hopi Indians vs. The Government," *The Catholic Worker,* January 1956, and *Book of Ammon,* 305.

164. Ammon Hennacy and Byron Bryant, "Interview with Ammon Hennacy," in *The Exacting Ear*, ed. Eleanor McKinney (New York: Random House, 1966), 55–56.

165. Lawrence Fellows, "Grim Omen Sinks in U.N. Channels," *New York Times*, May 6, 1959; Carle Hodge, "Hopis Take Protest to United Nations," *The Albuquerque Tribune*, May 1, 1959.

166. Hennacy, "Indians," unspecified newspaper, June 1957, AHU Box 2, Folder 1; Hennacy, "In the Market Place," *The Catholic Worker*, November 1957.

167. Hennacy, *One-Man Revolution,* 215.

168. Correspondence, AHA Box 1, Folders 1–4, 9–10; George Yamada, "The Great Resistance," *The Chicago Jewish Forum* (Winter 1953): 111–116; Review of *The Hopis: Portrait of a Desert People* by Walter Kane, *Boletin Bibliographico de Antropologia Americana* 17, no. 2 (1954): 140–142; Henry Geiger, "Frontiers: Between Two Worlds," *MANAS Journal,* November 28, 1956, 10–13.

169. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 154; cf. Mischa Titiev, Review of *The Great Resistance: A Hopi Anthology* by George Yamada, *American Anthropologist* 60, no. 3 (1958): 620–621.

170. Hennacy, "Traveling," *The Catholic Worker*, November 1958; Hennacy, "South and West," *The Catholic Worker*, April 1960; Hennacy to Yone [Stafford], November 19, 1964, AHU Box 4, Folder 7; Hennacy, *Book of Ammon,* 403; Hennacy to Joe [Craigmyle], May 17, 1969, AHU Box 4, Folder 8.

171. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 185.

172. Clemmer (e-mail message to author, October 21, 2009) confirms that Banyacya named Ayres but never Hennacy, and that Ayers and Banyacya were not close. Ayres's brief presence at the Tucson prison camp was reported to me by William Gillespie, personal communication, June 8, 2011.

173. Thomas, "Least of These," 3: 392.

174. Thomas to Cline, September 11, 1972, PCC Box 3, Folder 79; Hennacy, *One-Man Revolution,* 216; Thomas, *Grief and Laughter*, 248 (see n18).